



# REPORT OF THE BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION TAMIL NADU

Volume II

1970



GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU

1975

PRINTED BY THE DIRECTOR OF STATIONERY AND  
PRINTING, MADRAS, ON BEHALF OF THE  
GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU

1975

*Price Rs. 18-75*



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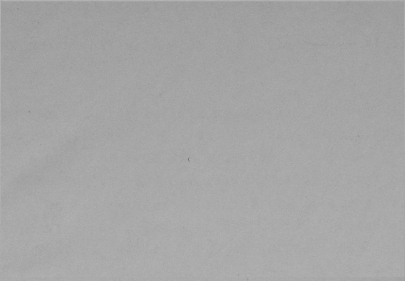
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P A R T - I

- (i) Notes on the entries in the existing list of  
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AGAMUDAYAN:

Item No. 1 in the list of Backward Classes in all the lists.

This note deals only with Agamudayan (Excluding Thaluva Vellaias).

The entry was made in the list of Backward Classes in 1913. From the notes recorded at that time, the data regarding population and literacy was obtained from the 1911 Census Reports. The literacy of the caste even then was 208 per thousand a very high achievement for those days. On the recommendation of the Director of Public Instruction the entry was deleted in G.O.No.160, Education, dt. 29-1-40. On receipt of further representations the entry was restored in G.O.No.395, Education, dt. 7-3-42, and it continues to remain in the list of Backward Classes.

A number of written representations were received from the representatives of this community from Madurai, Ramanathapuram, South Arcot and Thanjavur districts. In the course of our tour in the districts, we visited a number of predominantly Agamudayan villages in all these districts. Though the representations from Kallar and Maravar claim kinship with Agamudayans, Agamudayan representatives maintained a distinct aloofness and would like to be treated as a separate entity.

In the representations on behalf of this caste in Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts presented by Thiru I. Rajaram Pandiyan, kinship is claimed with the Arcot Mudaliars and Thaluva Vellaiars. In their oral evidence before the Commission at Madurai, they distinctly stated that there is no relation between them and the other two groups, namely, Kallars and Maravars. Thiru Rajaram Pandiyan also stated that the Agamudayan and other two groups did not belong to the same caste. This line of representation denotes the ascriptive tendency of a progressive group to identify itself with a socially and economically advanced section, rather than with the less progressive section to which it may be ethnically and culturally related.

The representations of the communities at Velanganni and Nagapattinam stated that like the Kallars, Agamudayans also migrated from the southern districts, but there is no relation between them and the Agamudayan Mudaliars and Thaluva Vellaiars of Madras. It may also be added that some other witnesses admitted that Agamudayan is only a branch of the Mukkulathar tribe, but all of them had a feeling that they are slightly superior and are educationally and economically better off than the Kallars and Maravars. In a printed memorandum submitted on behalf of 'Agamudayan Mahajana Sangam, Madurai' they claim that 60 per cent of their educated people are in

Government services in some form or the other. Most of the written and oral evidences indicate that men even the economically lowest strata and their women do not go to do manual or menial work a sure test of backwardness. "Agamudayan Kalvi Viruthi Sangam, Thanjavur" stated in their written memorandum dated 1-12-69:

- (a) they live mostly in villages. But during the last four or five decades, many families have migrated to cities and towns seeking employment and to educate their children.
- (b) in villages, the main occupation are: Agriculture or farming, farm work on wages, rearing cattle, milk-vending, cart driving etc. In towns and cities they are: teaching in educational institutions, service in Government and private offices, petty shop-keeping, car driving etc.

Regarding their economic status, Madurai and Ramanathapuram representations give the following information: Small landlords 60%; contract farmers 10%; and farm labourers 30%. Thiruvankatachala Devar, M.L.A., in his memorandum on behalf of Agamudayans, gives the following figures: small landlords 30%; contract farmers 20%; and farm labourers 50%. Though there are inconsistencies in these figures, it leads to the presumption that economically Agamudayans have moved far ahead of the Kallars and Maravars, and definitely better than many of the other Backward Communities.

It is, however, surprising that they have scrupulously avoided giving replies to the questions relating to number of educated people and the number who are in Government services, etc. To these, we obtained only vague replies. Government statistics are also vitiated by the addition of Thuluva Vellala to the entry relating to this caste. We have tried to isolate the figures to some extent for assessment purposes.

Regarding population, various claims have been made upto 20 lakhs for the whole State, but according to the normal method of projection their population in 1971 is likely to be 675,505 of which 1.81 lakhs and 1.48 lakhs are found in Thanjavur and Ramanathapuram districts respectively. The figures in the Northern districts, particularly in North Arcot and Salem are also largely vitiated as it includes members of another caste, yet going sometimes by the names: Agamudayan, Jdayar and Thuluva Vellala.

Of the three castes, Agamudayan have been traditionally more advanced in education. Even in the earlier decades, their standard



of education was higher, perhaps only a little less than that of forward communities. It is noteworthy that even in 1913 when the caste was included in the list, the literacy was recorded as 208 per thousand nearly 21 per cent, a very high figure for that period as already observed-high indeed even by present standard. Naturally, they took advantage of the facilities for education in recent times more quickly than the others and their achievement in the S.S.L.C. level is very good. Though there are areas in Ramanathapuram and Thanjavur districts where the Agamudayans are just cultivators or tenant farmers, in certain urban and suburban areas of Trichy and Thanjavur districts, they have made appreciable progress in education, employment and in general economic sphere. Large numbers of these people have migrated to other urban centres; and distinguishing them is a delicate problem in view of the use of the term Agamudayan and Thuluva Vellala by others as well. The records of the boys and girls who are in schools and colleges are extremely good, as borne out of the evidence of Headmasters and Principals. Many of them can compete on equal terms with boys and girls of forward communities and this in fact they do.

Agamudayan is certainly among the top few of the Backward Classes who have made substantial advancement in education and employment.

Our assessment of the progress of the caste is rendered somewhat difficult in view of the existence of another class of people in South Arcot, North Arcot, Salem and Dharmapuri who also go by this caste name, and by the inclusion of "Thuluva Vellala" as a sub-caste under the same entry. We have dealt with this complication in the note of Thuluva Vellala. We have tried to separate statistics for Agamudayan as far as possible, but cannot claim a high degree of precision. Though we have tried to identify Thuluva Vellala separately, the other Agamudayans cannot be easily separated. But this does not vitiate our general conclusion that in all respects the two Agamudayans separate or allied caste do not differ very much in their achievements. The other Agamudayans are also a peasant caste, with a comparatively large population of small and big land owners, with a higher level of education, and participation in Government service. The caste is known both as 'தெருவா' and 'தெருவா' --perhaps the latter is more popular in Southern districts.

AGAMUDAYANS, KALLAR AND MARAVAR (MUKKULATHAR):

Item No. 1, 51 and 78 in the list of Backward Classes of the Notification of Department of Backward Classes and Item No. 1, 52 and 80 in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list.

GENERAL:

As Tamil Nadu's economy has predominantly been agricultural, it is but natural that the bulk of the Backward Class population are agriculturists. The term 'Agriculturist' is capable of wide interpretation. All who own land, whether cultivated by themselves or not, claim to be agriculturists. In this category come many forward castes, who have been traditionally landowners. Among the Backward Castes, landowning has been less extensive, though the castes produced zamindars, like Maravars and to smaller extent, the Vanniakula Kshatriya. There have been a small percentage of big and small landowners. Excluding the artisan communities, weaver communities and labour communities, we find two large groups of castes, which may be described as cultivators. These are the Padayachis or Vanniakula Kshatriyas and the Mukkulathars, including the Agamudayans, Kallars and Maravars. The Vanniakula Kshatriyas are the predominant cultivating caste in the northern districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and Salem. They are to be found in a slightly reduced number, but yet substantially in Thanjavur and Coimbatore districts. In other districts of Tamil Nadu, they are only in smaller groups. Obviously their original homeland must have been the traditional Pallavaghat from where they might have been fanned out to the other districts.

The Mukkulathar group are numerically stronger in the districts where the Padayachis group is numerically smaller. Their homeland obviously was the old Pandya country, namely, the regions now covered by Tirunelveli, Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts, from where they have fanned out into Thanjavur and Tiruchi districts. Agamudaiyans appear to have spread out to almost all the districts, excepting Kanyakumari and Chingleput Districts, though their heaviest concentration is in Ramanathapuram and Thanjavur districts.

The other minor cultivating communities like the Valayans, Muthurajas, Ambalakaran, etc., appear to have settled round and been dependent on the major cultivating communities in many of these districts, though the social position might present a different picture

of independence in the districts. It is not, therefore, surprising that these two major groups, i.e. Padayachis or Vanniyakula Kshatriyas and Mukkulathars, form a substantial percentage of the Backward Classes. Their combined population would not be lower than 75 lakhs, though the communities themselves claim a very much bigger figure.

There are sub-castes and sub-divisions amongst the Agamudayan, Kallar and Maravar. Among the Agamudayan, sub-divisions, claimed are - Rajakula and Kottaipura. Other sub-divisions have also been mentioned. Amongst the Kallars and Maravars, there are numerous divisions, between whom normally inter-marriage is even now not permitted. The common title favoured by the Kallars and Maravars is 'Thevar' and 'Servai' and the Agamudaiyans prefer 'Pillai' though other titles are also occasionally adopted. They prefer to their caste names to have the 'r' terminal rather than the 'n'.

Population for 1971 (Projection).

District	Caste		
	Kallar	Maravar	Agamudaiyan
1. Madras	--	--	--
2. Chingleput	--	--	--
3. North Arcot	--	--	26,684*
4. South Arcot	--	--	28,889*
5. Thanjavur	3,81,660	6,906	2,16,271
6. Trichy	1,44,327	16,894	31,871
7. Ramanathapuram	83,444	2,69,873	1,75,899
8. Madurai	3,43,157	1,02,344	1,14,689
9. Tirunelveli	23,124	4,26,076	3,168
10. Salem	--	--	24,239*
11. Coimbatore	--	3,947	48,530
12. Nilgiris	--	--	265
13. Kanyakumari	--	5,259	--
Total	9,75,712	8,31,299	6,70,505

\* May not be Agamudaiyans of this group

AMBALAKARANS:

Item No. 3 in Annexure II of the list of Backward Classes in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list.

Item No. 2 in Annexure D of the list of Backward Classes in Backward Classes Department Notification.

Item No. 2 in Annexure E of the list of Most Backward Classes in Backward Classes Department Notification.

Ambalakarans are a caste of agricultural labourers, manual workers and village watchmen. The term 'Ambalakaran' was originally said to be a title of 'Kallans' but in course of time this has acquired a distinct identity, chiefly in Tiruchy and Thanjavur districts. There is some connection between Ambalakarans, Muttiriyans, Muttirajas, Valaiyans and Vettuvars. According to Thurston they might have descended from one common parent-stock. Even now they are practically on the same socio-economic level and in some areas

the distinction gets blurred, and the differences in caste names denote little distinction. The upper section of the Ambalakaran style themselves as 'Pillai'. In Thanjavur and Tiruchirapalli districts those who are not so well off, style themselves as Ambalakaran, Muttirayar and Servaikaran. In some places the title Malavarayan, Mutturasan and Vannian are also used.

Their main concentration is in the districts of Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur. Their population according to the 1921 Census was 162,173; the present population would be roughly 3 lakhs.

To our questionnaire, replies were received from very few sources; mostly from individuals. This may be due to absence of proper organisation. It is claimed that 75 per cent of their population are engaged in doing cooly work and the remaining 25 per cent are petty land-owners and tenant farmers. Educationally it was represented that this community is one of the Most Backward; since the majority of the people are labourers, they cannot educate their children. In the Pudukkottai taluk where there is a heavy concentration of this community, it was represented that there are only 2 Doctors, 2 Engineers and 2 B.Sc. Agriculture graduates. From the Alankudi Vattam, which is another place of concentration, there is only one Agricultural B.Sc. graduate. Educationally and economically their achievement is very poor. Deserves to remain within the category of 'Most Backward'.

#### ANDIPANDARAM:

Item No. 4 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 154 in the list of Backward Classes in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list.

The two names Pandaram and Andipandaram are in practice indiscriminately applied to the same class of people though there is a difference between the two. Generally Andis refer to the type of people who go about begging from door to door beating a small gong with a stick. Whereas Pandarams are a class of non-brahmins priests and considered more respectable. Most of them serve in Siva temples making garlands of flowers to decorate the deities. The Pandara Mahajana Sangam which met the Commission at Madurai replied that Andipandarams and Pandarams are one and the same. But one witness representing Pandaram caste denied any such connection between the two. Yogeswara community while accepting Pandarams specifically excludes Andipandarams from its fold—a certain odium seems to stick to this term.

One reply to the questionnaire and a written memoranda have been received from Andipandaram caste. They are not able to say anything clearly about the size of their population and literacy and educational standard. The Pandarams have given a better representation.

Their representatives met the Commission in Tirunelveli and Madurai and Coimbatore districts. 'Pandarakula Mahajana Sangam' which is a Statewide organisation has also sent detailed replies to



the questionnaire. They claim a total population of 15 lakhs spread over all the districts with a heavier concentration in Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. In 1921 Census; Andis and Pandarams have been recorded separately and they accounted for 66,870 and 54,712 respectively. On this basis even if a liberal estimate is made, their population cannot exceed 3 lakhs.

Their main and traditional occupation is temple service, flower garland making and flower selling. Many of them are agriculturists working as tenants and agricultural workers. Few of these caste people in Salem, Coimbatore and Madurai districts are rich and engaged in trade and commerce. They represent that their literacy standard is very low. But in Ramanathapuram, Madurai and Kanyakumari districts the educational standard is slightly higher. In Madurai district with their population of 10,000 there are one B.E., One M.B.B.S. and two B.A., B.Ts. In Kanyakumari with a population of 5,000 there are 13 graduates including one Engineer.

Andipandarams already figures under Most Backward Classes.

#### BADAGAS:

Item No. 8 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes..

Item No. 9 in the list of the Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

This is the numerically biggest community in the Nilgiris district. Thurston and also Census writers have classified it as a tribe, naturally because their social structure is not exactly within the bounds of the Hindu social order as prevailing in South India. They are a Canarese speaking people and Badaga is regarded by writers as a corrupt form 'Vaduga' or Northerner. The representatives of the community who gave evidence before us claimed that they migrated from Mysore about 900 years ago. Thurston thinks their migration must have taken place after the rise of the Lingayat movement in Karnataka, as one sect of the Badagas are Lingayats. Their spoken language is Badaga, a corrupt form of Kannada, but extremely remote from the present Kannada language. They have preserved in a large measure the exclusiveness of a migrant and not indigenous population. Their customs and manners and ways of life are very different from the Tamils. They have within their own fold a peculiar caste system with 'Udhayas' at the top and 'Thoraya' at the bottom. 'Udhayas' are Lingayats and in the past they did not intermarry with the others, though of late this exclusiveness is relaxed. The intermediate sects have in recent times developed a sense of homogeneity. But the 'Thorayas' who are supposed to be at the bottom of the social scale remain largely apart even now, and the higher ranking Badagas do not intermarry with them. Apparently the population of 'Thorayas' is declining as the Badaga representatives, who met us, claimed there are only about 1,000 people belonging to the 'Thoraya' sub-division now living; but there are some Thorayas in Coimbatore and perhaps the latter may be the descendants of the Thorayas who migrated down to the plains in search of better living.

Regarding their population, the Census Report for 1921 mentions 34,178 for 1901, 38,180 for 1911, and 40,329 for 1921. According to the ordinary projection their present population should be

about 74,000 though the Revenue Authorities of the Nilgiris district gave us 1,25,821 as the present population concentrated mostly in Coonoor and Ootacamund taluks. In the absence of separate Census enumeration, it is difficult to estimate the population accurately. The representatives of the community claim their population as a lakh and a half.

The primary occupation of the Badagas is agriculture. They were always regarded as good cultivators. Generally their villages are situated at the tops of low hillocks, and round the villages along the slopes are their fields. Every Badaga has a few acres to cultivate intensively mainly using the labour of his women-folk. The Badaga women therefore occupy an important place in the economy of the Badaga community. There are fewer landless labourers. The Badaga prosperity in recent decades is largely dependent on the cultivation of potatoes. With the increase in population of the district, the pressure on land is heavier, and the Badagas feel that there is not enough land to go around in order to maintain them on a reasonable standard of living. They say in their written representation "even the limited extent is not available to the Badagas as much areas are reserved for forests, hydro-projects and other schemes, which do not benefit directly the local people". They have also complained that people from outside the district have come and occupied the lands which they feel should legitimately be given to them. They have pleaded that the first step for the rehabilitation of the community should be distribution of available lands to the landless Badagas. The potato economy according to them is in a sorrowful state due to the scarcity of disease-free seeds. Supply of good seeds, liberal credit facilities and subsidy for the potato cultivation are their main requests. As far as other activities are concerned, they have made an interesting point that the expenditure on soil conservation should be borne by the entire State as this does not benefit the local population and in fact is harmful to their cultivation. The Badagas have taken to cultivation of tea; but their methods of cultivation and methods of manufacture are not up to the modern major estate standards. Government established 8 modern industrial co-operative tea factories, but they complain that the benefits rendered by these co-operatives have been made useless by the heavy excise duties and export duty on tea. Any improvement in potato cultivation and in the production and marketing of tea will add to their prosperity. Government is already aware of these and various steps have been taken to improve the economy of these two crops.

The Badagas have taken to education enthusiastically in recent years and more and more boys and girls are seeking admission to colleges. There is a demand for more and more schools and more colleges and particularly for residential accommodation attached to schools and colleges, and for private hostels recognised by the Government for awarding residential scholarships. It must be said that compared to their almost primitive tribal conditions about 30 to 40 years ago, they have made very fair progress in education and their economic conditions too cannot be said to be as bad as that of many other Backward Communities in other districts. In view of their homogeneity and concentration, they have been able to dominate in local administration and they have elected M.L.As and M.Ps. With the help of the political power thus secured, they have been able to provide electricity, main roads and link roads to their hilly villages.

Their main grievance is that they have not made any impact on the Government services for a population of their importance in the region. They feel that they are not adequately represented in Government services, in the public sector projects and particularly in the local offices. They attach great importance to Government service. Till recently Government service was the only avenue of employment as there were few industrial and business houses in the district. In a memorandum submitted by Thiru Bhojan, M.L.A., it is stated that they have 1,500 graduates, including 50 Engineers, 30 Doctors and 30 Lawyers. For a community of their size this is a good achievement. In high schools also their number is impressive. A large number of their graduates and under-graduates are employed as teachers in high schools and elementary schools. Apart from a few Sub-Inspectors and Clerical Assistants in Central and State Government Departments they represented that they have no share in the higher services of the State. This is confirmed by our statistics too.

#### BESTHA, SIVAR:

##### BESTHA

Item No. 10 in the list of Backward Classes and Item No. 5 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 11 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

##### SIVAR

Item No. 129 in the list of Backward Classes and Item No. 44 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 125 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Bestha and Sivar are two distinct classes of fishermen mostly found in Coimbatore district. They speak Ganarese and are said to have migrated from Mysore State many centuries ago. Menfolk belonging to Bestha caste had been palanquin bearers in the past and with the dispensation of this mode of transport, they have switched over to other pursuits of menial work. Though there might have been a shade of difference between these two castes now there is free mixing among them. Their representatives met the Commission at Coimbatore and presented a memorandum. They claim that Bestha and Sivar are one and the same caste.

This is one of the numerically small castes in the State. There are about 150 families in Coimbatore town and a few are found in Salem and Dharmapuri districts also. For livelihood they depend on tank fishing and when the tanks go dry for nearly 8 months in a year, they take to cultivation. Their literary standard is poor and only of late their children are being sent to schools. Bestha and Sivar at present are mentioned as two separate items in the Backward Classes list. They can be clubbed together. They are already classified under the Most Backward Classes and will be eligible for all the concessions.

BHATRAJU:

Item No. 7 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 155 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

The representatives of Bhatraju community met the Commission at Coimbatore. It is a small caste found mostly in Coimbatore and Salem districts. In Coimbatore district there are only about 80 families with a population of 1,000. A few people are living in Madras city also. In all, they may account for about 5,000 to 10,000. They are Telugu speaking people stated to have migrated from the Vijayanagaram Kingdom in the past. Their educational standard is said to be poor and in all, there are, it is claimed, about 10 graduates and 50 S.S.L.C. holders and 1 Doctor from this caste. Earlier Census records and Thurston refer to them as a class of ballad reciters singing in glorification of the heroic deeds of local princes and nobles. As time changed, they became the camp followers of rich Reddiyers and Nayudus. Even today some of them sing Ballads in marriage functions of rich families. Some of them have taken to teaching in schools. The rest are stated to be employed as landless agricultural coolies.

Representation was made to the Commission at Madras on behalf of Kshatriya Raju community claiming identity between Bhatrajus and Kshatriya Rajus. It was pleaded that Bhatraju is one of the branches of the Kshatriya Raju community and therefore requested that the entry in the list of Backward Classes should be amplified to include Kshatriya Rajus also. The Chairman pointed out that the various castes in the list have been included on grounds of their social, educational and economic backwardness and that Kshatriya Rajus are not inferior in any of these respects. The representatives put forth a claim that the Kshatriya Rajus are also backward in every respect and that most of their people are working as coolies in the fields in villages like Siravanjeri, Tiruvallur, Mudalivakkam etc. in Chingleput district. They claim a total population of 85,000 dispersed throughout the State.

Detailed replies to our questionnaire were also received from them claiming a total population of 60,000. The representation does not contain any detailed statistical information about their socio-economic conditions. However, from the information given, it is seen that on an average their per capita earning is about Rs.150/- pm. The community has supplied a good number to Government service, and more than 100 as non-gazetted officers. There are not less than 90 graduates, 10 Doctors from this community. On the whole, it cannot be said that the Kshatriya Rajus are very backward socially and educationally as calimed by them.

To get a clear idea about the relationship between the Kshatriya Raju and Bhatrajus, reference was made to Collectors of Chingleput, Madurai, Salem and Coimbatore. The Collectors reported that these are two different castes and in social and economic status they cannot be equated with one another. The Kshatriya Rajus observe a custom of worshipping swords in marriage ceremonies which clearly shows their Kshatriya origin. When it was pointed out to the representatives of the Bhatraju caste at Coimbatore that Kshatriya Rajus also claim to be Bhatrajus, they said that some of the Bhatrajus in their desire to acquire social status call themselves 'Kshatriya Rajus'. That means Bhatrajus are considered inferior to 'Kshatriya Rajus'.



It is also worthwhile to mention here that the Kshatriya Raju community made representation to the Government in 1936 for inclusion of the caste (Raju or Kshatriya) in the list. The Government then considered that Raju cannot on any account be called a Backward Class, since the literacy percentage among this community was twice that of the Presidency; Their claim, therefore, was rejected. Their educational standard and socio-economic status should have been bettered since then. Hence there does not seem to be any justification for equating Kshatriya Rajus with Bhatarajus and including them in the list of Backward Classes.

#### BONDIL:

Item No. 14 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 15 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

This is one of the few Hindi speaking minorities in the State. They claim to have come with the British Armies in the 18th and 19th century from Bhunderkhund. These people are found scattered in several districts in very small numbers and adopt the title of 'Singh' though they may not be Kshatriyas according to Census authorities and Thurston. The population has been estimated by their own representatives at about 50,000. This appears to be a gross exaggeration. Possibly it would include many other Castes of Hindi speakers of whom there are several in the State. They claim about 1,000 in Madras and Chingleput. Their representatives who appeared before us to give oral evidences were interrogated on the question of their population. They said that there may be about 200 families in Madras and near about 50 in Vellore, about 20 in Salem, about 100 in Madurai and about 200 in Thanjavur districts. It would appear that the total population would not exceed a few thousands, and they are mostly settled in towns. No accurate estimate is possible as this is not one of the castes for whom Census figures are available. Many of their members are working in low paid Government Services as Clerks, Police Constables and there are several in the Army as well. It is interesting to note that according to them, their women are not earning members, i.e., they do not go out as paid workers. For a small caste they appear to have made reasonable progress in education in recent years, though they have the complaint that there are not highly placed Government officers in their community. For a population of few thousands they themselves had admitted near about 15 girls are studying in the Degree classes and several girls are working in offices as well. In some towns like Salem, they had made very good progress. In Salem they appear to have half a dozen Doctors. Apart from the fact that they have not become economically affluent and have not produced high officers, judged by the standard of Backward Classes, their progress must be regarded as very satisfactory. Like other Backward Classes they also made the request that they should be treated as Most Backward and given proportional representation in services and other facilities.

#### CHATADI (CHATADA SRIVAISHNAVA):

Item No. 17 in the list of Backward Classes and 9 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 18 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

This is one of the several temple service communities found in many districts of Tamil Nadu, wherever there are Vaishnavaites temples. This was included in the list of Backward Classes in 1941 and the list of Most Backward Classes in 1957. They claim close association with the great Vaishnava Saints of Tamil Nadu. In the Southern districts Tamil is their mother tongue and in many of the Northern districts they speak Telugu. They adopt the titles 'Jyer', 'Iya' and 'Alvar'. They are called "சாத்தா சரீராவதாரம்" in order to distinguish them from the Srivaishnava Brahmins, who wear the sacred thread. The word 'Sathatha' implies, people who do not wear the sacred thread (Punool-Sathatha). Ordinarily people who speak Telugu are known as "Sathanis". Regarding their population various claims have been made. According to the 1921 Census their population then was 15,882. In the representations made to us, claims upto 1 lakh have been made. It is reasonable to assume that the present population will be around 25,000. Besides Madras, large pockets of this community are found in Kanchipuram, Tiruchy and Srivilliputhur though a few people may be found in other places as well. Replies to the questionnaire were received from Aruppukottai, Gudiatham, Salem and Guduvancheri.

As a temple community, their traditional profession is officiating as priests in temples, where non-brahmin peoples are entertained, performing minor temple services in Vaishnava temples, making garlands and decorations for temples etc. Literacy in the mother tongue must have been little more extensive because of their temple duties and it was usual for their men to work as Astrologers and Village Teachers. With this, it was not very difficult for them to take advantage of the educational facilities extended to Backward Communities in recent years. In the representation made on behalf of this people in Ramanathapuram district, it is stated that they have 10 graduates, 1 Doctor, 1 Engineer and a few college Lecturers, for a population of about 100 families or roughly 500 people. In North Arcot for a population of about 1,000, as claimed in their representation, they have 8 graduates, and 1 L.I.M. From informations collected from the representations made by several individuals and associations both in writing as well as oral, the community whose population is estimated by the most reliable amongst them as between 15 and 20 thousand, has about 20 graduates, 5 Engineers, 10 Doctors, 5 Professional Degree holders and very many of them are employed in Government services. As far as Salem city is concerned, it is stated, literacy in English would be about 35 per cent and Salem district has a large number of University Degree holders compared to their small population.

It is true, it is not an agricultural community and their land holding is inconsiderable. They have not made much headway in business or in any other sphere. But their progress in education and atleast in Government service is quite substantial. Their share being proportionately very much higher than that of many other Backward communities, as is borne out by our Statistics.

The entry in the list may be changed to Sathatha Srivaishnava including Shattaniyas. (சாத்தா சரீராவதாரம், சாத்தானி) 2 அம்சம்

## CHRISTIANS:

Item No. 4 in the list of Scheduled Caste Converts (Annexure C - Other Eligible Communities) in the Notification of the Department of Harijan Welfare.

Item No. 152 in the list of Backward Classes (Converts to Christianity from the Scheduled Castes (only persons who are themselves converts) of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission, Madras.

Christians have been living in Tamil Nadu and at Madras for the last nineteen hundred years. The population for all Christians as projected from 1961 Census for 1971 is 20,95,127. Indian Christians were all converts from various communities of Hindus from the highest to the lowest according to them. They fall into three groups:

- (a) Those from the Scheduled Castes and Tribes; about 50 per cent mostly in Chingleput, South and North Arcot and Thanjavur districts.
- (b) Those from the Backward Classes; about 30 per cent in large numbers in Kanyakumari and Tirunelveli districts.
- (c) Those from the non-Backward Classes list, about 20 per cent and spread all over the districts.

## SCHEDULED CASTE CONVERTS:

No separate statistics of converts from the Scheduled Castes are available from official records. But from the records produced before the Commission and other available particulars, a rough estimate can be made of the different groups.

From the printed copy of the Census of 1965 for Madurai Archdiocese consisting of Madurai district except Dingigul Division, Ramnathapuram District and Tirunelveli district except Tuticorin division, out of a total population of 2,46,500 Catholics, Scheduled Caste converts are 82,510 and the Backward Classes, 1,38,600. From the Memorandum presented at Madurai it is stated that 25 per cent are literate and 10 per cent are S.S.L.Cs. and a majority of them are teachers.

The representation of behalf of the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes Christians of Tiruchy diocese consisting of 3 taluks of Tiruchy district, besides Bindigul and Palani of Madurai district, states that there are about two lakhs of Christians of whom  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs are Catholics, that 35 per cent are from Scheduled Castes and 40 per cent from the Backward Classes. Among the Scheduled Caste converts, 10 per cent are literate, 1 per cent S.S.L.C. holders and .05 per cent are graduates and that this is the situation of the Christian Scheduled Caste throughout the State as a whole. A memorandum presented at Tindivanam on behalf of the Archdiocese of Cuddalore and Pondicherry has stated that there are 1,68,790 Catholics out of which 60 per cent are from the Scheduled Castes. Another memorandum from Panikkamkuppam, via Panrutti, presented at Cuddalore states that excluding Chidambaram taluk, for seven taluks in South Arcot district for which particulars are given for each taluk,

it comes to 85,477 for Harijan converts and 32,170 for Vanniar converts. Detailed figures have also been given in a tabulated form. In the representation from Aniladi in Gingee taluk, out of 4,808 Catholics, 4,327 are parayars and 436 Sakkiliars.

The memorandum of the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes Christians of Kumbakonam Diocese consisting of three taluks in Thanjavur district and six taluks in Tiruchy district with a population of 1,50,000 Christians of whom 1,35,000 are Catholics, states that 40 per cent are Scheduled Caste converts.

A memorandum on behalf of the Thanjavur Diocese was presented by Thiru A.Y.S. Parisutha Nadar, M.L.A. in the questionnaire form issued by this Commission. This Diocese consists of ten taluks of Thanjavur district. Chidambaram taluk in South Arcot district and Alangudi and Thirumayam taluks of Tiruchy district. The Scheduled Caste converts are 62,319.

The Catholic Association at Coimbatore in their memorandum presented on 4th June 1970 at Coimbatore have stated that the Scheduled Caste converts in Coimbatore district are about 20,000 out of 76,000 Catholics. It mentions 15 per cent as literates, 2 per cent as S.S.L.C. holders, 1 per cent as graduates. They have further stated on 4th June 1970 pointing out the discrimination and stating that 50 per cent are from the Scheduled Castes.

The Vellore Catholic Diocese an Association in its memorandum presented at Vellore has stated that the Christian population in the North Arcot district is about 50,000 out of which 75 per cent are from the Scheduled Castes. It states that the educated are employed as elementary school teachers and some in High Schools, as Policemen and as Clerks. It states that none is employed in any high post and that almost all are Clerks and Attenders.

The Christian Youth Front in its memorandum dated 10th January 1970 and replies to the questionnaire dated 13th January 1970 has stated that out of 8 lakhs of Christians, Scheduled Castes Christians form about 2 per cent of the total population. They have stated that during the last 22 years after Independence not even 10 Scheduled Caste Christians have secured seats in the Medical Colleges, and that there are only 2 Medical graduates in that community. It further points out that Scheduled Caste Converts are given only certain concessions for scholarships as for Scheduled Castes as Most Backward, but for admission to Professional and technical schools they are treated as Forward. In answer to the questionnaire, it has stated that there are about one lakh Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes Christians in the City, and that about 10,000 professing Christianity are working as Scavengers and Sweepers in the Corporation and other Municipalities.

The Church of South India represented by the President of the Tamil Nadu Christians Council representing all the Protestant Dioceses in Tamil Nadu has sent a memorandum pointing out the discrimination shown to the Christians and the existence of caste distinctions and that the bulk about 80 per cent are from the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes.



Representations at Gotacamund stated that there were about 7,000 families of Christian Harijans and also other Backward Classes and pointing out the discrimination.

The President of the Catholic Union of India has represented to the Government on 12th May 1970 to see that the Backward Christians are also included within the scope of the Commission's enquiry.

The Joint Council of Christians, Catholic and Protestant have made a joint representation.

Rev. Fr. Jerome D'Souza, Member of Parliament, at the time of Amendment of the Constitution making provision for the Scheduled Castes has given evidence about the representations to the Prime Minister and the then President of India and his speech in Parliament regarding Scheduled Caste converts.

Scheduled Caste converts are mostly in villages and are mainly agricultural labourers on daily wages. A few are tenants; a still lesser number are small landowners. In cities and towns, they work as butlers and house-hold servants in European and Anglo-Indian houses or as coolies.

There is an Association called the Depressed Class Christian Association, Tirunelveli district with branches in Madurai district. In other places these converts are members of Catholic Associations in which other Christians are also members. In various other places visited by the Commission, representations were also made.

In elementary education in urban areas and to some extent in rural areas, they are perhaps more advanced, than their Hindu counterparts, as schools are run by missionaries where there are a large number of Christians. In High School education also there is some progress. But in College and in particular, professional education it is claimed that the progress is negligible.

Most of the educated among them are employed as Teachers in elementary schools and in some high schools. Some are employed as Clerks in Government offices and as last grade servants.

**Social Position:** The representatives states that though Christianity as such does not recognise caste, within the Church and the Church authorities do not discriminate among the Christians, still it does exist among Christians in social and other private functions. This is being tolerated and not encouraged.

The existence of caste among Christians in South India has been noted in several pages in the Report of the Backward Classes Commission of the Government of India in 1955. It was also represented that particulars are entered in the baptism registers, school registers and that certificates for scholarship give these particulars. It is also seen from the copy of the Census Report of Madurai Archdiocese in 1965.

Though in some villages they are in large numbers, because of their economic dependence on other communities, they do not wield much political power. In economic status it is claimed with some justification that they are much worse than the Scheduled Castes,

as they are denied any of the benefits given to the Hindu Scheduled Castes by the Government of India since 1947;

The request for more liberal treatment of Scheduled Class Converts came also from representatives of other communities including a Member of Parliament, some members of the Legislative Assembly, Panchayat Union Chairmen, etc. In fact, the view has been expressed by some that converts should be treated on a par with their Hindu counterparts. Their evidence is independent and disinterested and is, therefore, valuable.

Representations have been received from converts from several Backward Classes in the list. They contend that there should be no discrimination because of religion and that they are socially, educationally and economically in the same position as their Hindu brethren of similar communities.

The general demands of the Scheduled Castes converts are that they should be given the same benefits and aids as on a par with other Scheduled Castes. They want that there should be no discrimination because of their religion in admission to professional colleges and in sharing in the reservation for recruitment to the services.

When educational concessions are given to all Scheduled Caste converts, as for the Scheduled Castes, this restriction in respect of services to only those who are themselves converts has practically shut them out from getting any benefit given as a Backward Class. The fact, that such restriction for Labbais, who are also converts from Hinduism, has not been imposed has to be noted. The request of the Scheduled Caste converts to Christianity is that the clause within brackets "(only persons who are themselves converts)" should therefore be deleted appears to be justified.

Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians were allocated two out of 12 posts in the services, as per G.O.No. 3437, Public (Services), dated 21st November 1947. It was reduced as 1 out of 14. After this G.O. was set aside by the Supreme Court in 1951, the Madras Government passed G.O.No.2432, Public (Services), dated 27th September 1951, providing for reservation for Backward Classes as mentioned in the G.O.Ms.No.839, Education, dated 6th April 1951, and that converts to Christianity from the Scheduled Castes will be regarded as Backward Classes. Under Rule 92(c) of Madras Educational Rules, it was stated that the concession would be given to Scheduled Caste converts only if the conversion was of the pupil or his parent or guardian.

On a representation by the Principals of the Agricultural Colleges at Coimbatore and Bapatla in June 1951, that many candidates claimed to be converts from Scheduled Castes and whether it could be restricted to converts in the present generation or whether certificates from any authority should be insisted upon, the Government ordered in Memo. No. 47126 M/51 F & A, dated 4th July 1951 that the candidates should be converts in the present generation and that no certificates need be insisted upon. This was later adopted for admission to medical and other colleges also.

Later on a reference by the Madras Public Service Commission, this was interpreted as including only a person who is himself a convert to Christianity for purposes of appointment and admission to technical and professional colleges.

Though educational concessions are given for all Scheduled Caste converts to Christianity, the restricted interpretation in respect of admission to Technical Colleges and for services works a great hardship as they continue to be socially, economically and educationally backward.

#### DASARI

(Item No. 19 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item No. 18 in the list of Backward Classes of Department of Backward Classes.)

Dasari is a mendicant class of Vaishnavites found in all parts of the country speaking different languages. In villages they are popularly known as 'Thadan' which is said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Dada'. Their traditional occupation is to go about early in the morning, particularly in the Tamil month of Margazhi, reciting ballads and hymns. They use titles like 'Anna' and 'Ayya', against their names. Earlier Censuses have recorded Dasari separately in almost all districts. Among them the Telugu speaking Dasari are more numerous. People belonging to this caste in Salem district speak Canarese but call themselves Jangams.

The only representation received from them was at Thanjavur. They were not able to give detailed information about their numerical size and socio-economic status. All that they could say was that even today they continue their traditional occupation as bards and go about blowing conches in the mornings of Margazhi month. The villagers pay them in kind and for a whole year a family may get about 10 bags of paddy. They also go out for work in the fields on wages. Their present size would be about 10,000. Their educational attainments are very poor and representation in Government services negligible. They are classified under Most Backward Classes which is reasonable.

#### DEVADIGA (No. 20 in the list of Backward Classes).

Devadigas of South Canara were included in the list of Backward Classes in Grant-in-Aid Code in 1912 and since then Devadigas without the qualification of South Canara has continued to remain in the list. Even then, the Devadigas were to be found in no other district. The Commission did not receive any representation on behalf of this community nor is there any information that members of this community are to be found in Tamil Nadu. There is no justification for retaining it in our list.

#### DEVANGA:

No. 21 in Annexure D of the list of Backward Classes of Department of Backward Classes.

No. 22 in Annexure II of the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission List.

The Devanga community is another of the weaving castes speaking a language other than Tamil, though even in 1921 Census a few thousand spoke Tamil and Malayalam. They are also known by the name of Sedan (list No. 124). Their common title is Chettiar. Their population is found in Coimbatore, Salem, Madurai, Ramnad Districts, Telugu or Kannada speaking Devangas are found side by side in the towns of the former two districts. On the whole there are probably more Telugu speakers than Kannada speakers. In Salem there is a certain amount of rivalry between Kannada speakers and Telugu speakers and the general feeling is the Kannada Devangas are more advanced. Those living in Madurai and Ramnad districts speak Kannada, and others Tamil. In Madurai district, they are found in the taluks of Periakulam, Dindigul and Uthamapalayam, while in the Ramnad district they are concentrated in the Taluks of Aruppukottai and Karaikudy.

#### POPULATION:

2. For the Tamil districts, excluding Kanyakumari, the Census taken in 1921 discloses a population of 1,61,469. We can roughly project the population of 1971 as 296,731; or nearly 3 lakhs, though their representatives have generally claimed a population of 10 lakhs and at Erode they claimed 40 lakhs and in Coimbatore 50 lakhs.

3. About 80 to 85% of this community people are engaged in weaving. Only a small percentage are pursuing agricultural operations; either as small land holders or as tenants or as agricultural labourers. In some places in Thanjavur and South Arcot Districts which we visited it is said nearly 25% of the population are taking to agriculture. On or two schools and a college are run by this community; particularly in Ramnad and Madurai districts near Aruppukottai. The representatives of this community from Madurai and Ramnad districts urged before us that if college and hostel facilities are made available in each taluk near the places of their living, there will be a spurt in education. For improvement in the economic sphere, useful suggestions were made by the representatives of this weaving community. One such suggestion is that allied industries like printing, calendering, readymade garments making should be started to provide alternative employment for the weaving castes. Particularly the representatives from the Ramnad district, which is considered as backward district urged that Government should exploit the natural resources like gypsum, lime stone, etc. for starting chemical industries near Aruppukottai area. Still some other representatives of this community have suggested that co-operative endeavours should be made for manufacture of zari, metallic yarn, etc. There was also persistent request to provide financial assistance either through banks or directly from the Government by way of loans, etc. for starting industrial enterprise allied to weaving industry; or, otherwise. As in other weaving castes there are Master Weavers here as well and their prosperity has provoked some resentment amongst the ordinary weavers.

The community is fairly well organised and served by good leadership. The progress in education is considerable and Devanga students are considered quite competitive in spirit. Though relative figures regarding graduates and services are not given, the following figures given for Madurai are interesting.

Engineer 6; Doctors 3, Graduates 3; Lawyers 3; and non-Gazetted teachers 100.

In Salem, Erode and Coimbatore also there is evidence of progress. Their grievance is that they are not adequately represented in Government services. In some places they asked for facilities similar to Scheduled Castes. Unlike other weaver communities, these people have shown interest in agriculture and industries as well. This is one of the few communities which took pains to take figures of educated unemployed in Madras and Ramnad districts. There are 135 S.S.L.Cs. with less than 5 years standing, remaining unemployed.

Judged by statistics of employment and education their class has made very good progress.

The entry should be Devangar according to some of the representatives as this is more current usage.

#### DOMMARA:

(No. 24 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.)

(No. 23 in the list of Backward Classes and No. 11 in the list of Most of Backward Classes of Department of Backward Classes.)

Dommaras are socially the lowliest in society. No proper representation has been made by these people. The only representation was at Polur in North Arcot District where a handful of them appeared before the Commission. Even these people were not able to give useful information about their population, concentration of area and literacy standard. Pig rearing is one of their important occupations and besides this both men and women folk go out for any type of manual work. They generally live in thatched houses built on Puromboke lands. Their literacy standard is practically nothing. It is highly doubtful whether any Dommara is in Government services.

Dommara is treated as a most backward class. In spite of that they do not seem to have enjoyed any benefit whatsoever either in education or in employment. It is seen that Dommara is classified as a scheduled caste, item No. 15 throughout the State except in Kanyakumari district and Shettattah taluk of Tirunelveli district. As such this need not figure in the list of Backward Classes. Hence may be deleted.

#### DUDEKULAS:

(No. 24 in Annexure-D of the list of Backward Classes in the Department of Backward Classes Notification.)

(No. 25 in Annexure-II of the list of Backward Classes in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list.)

Besides the Dabbais and Mappillas, the other Muslim group who find a place in the Backward Classes list are the Dudekulas. Dudekulas attribute their conversion to the Baba Fakrudeen, a saint of Pennikonda, who in turn was a disciple of Nathad Vali, whose tomb is at Tiruphirapalli. His followers mostly live in the Andhra area round about Pennikonda. But we learn that some of the Dudekulas also live in the Taluks of Attur, Salem and Namakkal in Salem

district, in the taluks of Udayarpalayam, Musiri in Tiruchirapalli district, in the taluks of Kallakurichi and Tirukoilur in South Arcot and in the City of Madras. None from their group appeared before us. It is said that they are very backward. Some of them get some scholarships. Their occupation is reported to be cleaning cotton and silk cotton and making mattresses, etc. . . an occupation closely similar to that of the Panans of Kanyakumari District.

We do not have with us any materials from which we could indicate the present population of Dudekulas in Tamil Nadu.

As regards their present backward condition, we have no precise information as no representation from this class gave oral or return evidence.

#### GANGAVARAS:

(Item No. 29 in the list of Backward classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission

Item No. 27 in the list of Backward Classes of Department of Backward Classes.)

Gangavar seems to be a caste whose traditional occupation is lime burning and brickmaking. The only representation received was from the Secretary of Gangavaras Association in Madurai district. This representation claimed that the caste is spread over the State and may have a population of nearly 1 lakh. Nothing could be said about the accuracy of this figure, since it has not been recorded separately in any of the earlier Censuses. Even in the Collectors' reports this has been reported only from Coimbatore wherein about 750 people are said to be living.

The representation has given some statistics, but they relate to only Madurai district. They are chiefly found in Uthamapalayam and Bodinayakanur areas, mostly living in villages carrying on cultivation, petty trade and lime burning. Out of one thousand population covered in the reply to the questionnaire only about 20 are said to be small land holders. Their literacy standard is stated to be very low and 25% of them can read and write Tamil. Girls' education is very poor and only one girl from that area has studied up to S.S.L.C. Seven or eight persons are employed in Government service in non-gazetted posts as elementary school teachers and last grade servants.

From the representation it is seen that it is a numerically small caste and that their socio economic condition is really low. Their progress in education also has not been impressive.

#### IDIGA:

(Item No. 36 in the list of Backward Classes of the Department of Backward Classes.)

(Item No. 38 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.)

Idiga including Setti Balija is included in the list of Backward Classes. The 1921 Census enumerates Idiga, Arya Idiga, Setty Balija as one group and the total population for Tamil Nadu

excluding Kanyakumari District was then 15,668. Idiga is found in the list of Backward Classes since 1910. But the entry "Idiga (including Setti Baliya)" was inserted only in 1925. Even as early as 1943, a doubt was entertained about including Setti Balaja in this category and Government had ordered in G.O.Ms. No.373, Education, dated 27th February 1948 that only Setti Baliya pupils in the districts of East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna and Vizakha-patnam may be allowed fee concessions. It would appear, therefore, that Setti Baliya is not synonymous with Idiga. Idigas were retained in the Backward Classes list as they alone (and not Setti Baliya) were today tappers and tree climbers. They appear to be the Telugu equivalent of the Tamil Shanans. No reply to the questionnaire was received from any representatives of this community. Oral evidence was tendered before us by K.V. Varadarajulu, Advocate of Vellore. He contended that there are only a few families of toddy tappers belonging to this community and speaking Telugu in the districts of North Arcot and Chingleput and it is wrong to equate Setti Baliya with Idiga. Though they have adopted the title of Naidu like most Telugu speaking people, they did not adopt the title Chetty. According to him, the population of the Idiga community in Tamil Nadu is very small and their economic condition is deplorable. After enforcement of prohibition in Tamil Nadu, many of them left and there may be a larger number of Idigas in Chittoor and other Andhra districts. The community is still suffering from social stigma and is regarded socially as a very inferior caste. There are very few educated men and the standard of literary apparently is very poor though no evidence is available. The fact that the representatives of this community did not come forward to submit written replies to the questionnaire is perhaps an indication of the very poor circumstances in which this community is placed. Mr. Varadarajulu requested that Idiga should be included in the list of Most Backward Classes and should be given all the facilities that are now extended to Harijans. Since this is a small community and is comparable to the "Sonans" of Tamil Nadu, they may continue to be in the list of Backward Classes, but Setti Baliya in parenthesis may be deleted since the intention of the Government to include this caste in the list was to cover people in Telugu districts only.

ILLUVAN (IZHUVAN, ILLATHAR):

(Item No. 40 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item No. 38 in the list of Backward Classes of Department of Backward Classes;)

Illuvan is a caste found in the Southern districts, Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram, Kanyakumari and Madurai; their traditional occupation was toddy tapping. Their entry 'Ezhuvans' relates to their counterparts in Kerala. In view of their hereditary occupation of toddy drawing and distilling liquor they are also called 'Saraya-kara Pillaimars'. Gradually they had switched over to other occupations of a diversified nature, which include agriculture, weaving, petty trade, Government service, tailoring etc. Many work as coolies in land and also in cotton mills. Their representatives met the commission at Ramanathapuram. There were some written replies to the questionnaire. In 1921 Census, the Tamil speaking 'Illuvans' accounted for about 30,000. The Collectors' reports

received, indicate their concentration in Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts; and the total population is reckoned as 56,983. They have, however, claimed a population of several lakhs. As is the custom among 24 Manai Chetty, Illuvans are divided among five houses (செவ்வம்) and marriage is not allowed within the same house. Of late, they generally style themselves as Illuthu Pillaimar and their association is called 'Illuthu Pillaimar Sangam'. But in different areas they are known by different names like Ezavans, Panikkar, Siruvaikudi Vellalar, Sivarudra Pillaimar, Seerkud Vellalar, etc., (hardships in securing community certificates from the officials. They say that officials insist that they should declare their caste name as Ezhavan (Illathar). If they call themselves 'Illathu Pillaimar', the officials refuse to issue certificates. This is the case where the caste people in their desire to assume a more respectable caste name run into difficulties in getting certificates. Therefore, it is necessary that the entry is changed suitably to alleviate their grievance. 'Illathu Pillaimar' is generally acceptable to them and hence the present entry which reads as 'Illuvan (Ezhavan, Illathar) may be changed to 'Illathu Pillaimar'. 'Ezhavan' can be deleted since it relates to the toddy drawers in Kerala.

Their educational standards is calimed to be poor; but, it could be stated that there are number of graduates among them. Some of them are Doctors, Engineers and Lawyers and their literacy standard cannot be considered very low. Statistics show that they have done fairly well in employment and education.

#### ISAI VELLALA or MELAKKARAN:

(Item No. 37 in the list of Backward Classes of Department of Backward Classes Notification.

Item No. 39 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.)

This caste finds an entry in the list of Backward Classes and the Isai Vellala (Melakkaran) in Thanjavur district is listed among the Most Backward Classes. The entry relating to the Thanjavur District was made in the list of Most Backward Classes in 1957. It would appear that this caste received very little attention from society and from Government before 1942. Needless to say there is no separate enumeration in the census, 1921 or earlier years. It is obviously included in the omnibus class, Vellala.

2. Since the abolition of the Devadasi system considerable socio-economic changes have taken place affecting this caste - but no concerted attempt was made to rehabilitate these people either by Government or by Social reformers. Wherever there are temples, observing the Brahminic rituals of worship, a few families of Isai Vellalas are to be found. They serve as musicians and perform other temple auxiliary services. They might have been enjoying inams or maniyams under the old system. But now the musicians, particularly those who play the Nathaswaram and its accompaniments are given small salaries and packets of food served to the deity. Though music and Bharathanatyam have been the traditional occupations of these people, their position in the social strata was always considered low and they have never been able to achieve any advancement economically, socially, educationally or politically.



As Thanjavur has the largest number of temples, inevitably a very large section of the population is to be found scattered among the temple towns and villages of this district, though a few families are to be found in similar villages and towns in all the other Tamil districts.

3. The Commission could not ascertain the precise reasons for including the Isai Vellala or Melakkaran of Thanjavur District alone in the list of Most Backward Classes. When this question was posed to the representatives of the caste, who appeared before us, two divergent explanations were given to us. The Thanjavur spokesmen alleged that their population is the heaviest in Thanjavur District and their people have no other occupation but the traditional one of performing music. In other districts, according to them, not only the other castes have taken to Nathaswaram and allied music, but the Isai Vellala also have taken to other occupations like weaving. The spokesman of this caste at Chidambaram, however, alleged that the Vidwans of Thanjavur were influential and, therefore, they got their caste recognised as Most Backward and the people in other districts were not well organised at that time to launch an agitation in their favour. Whatever the reasons might have been, our general impression is that Isai Vellala of Thanjavur being entirely depending on music and temple service deserve greater attention and the present distinction is not altogether unjustified.

4. There is no means of ascertaining the population of this caste. Some of the witnesses who appeared before us estimated their population might be the order of 3 lakhs throughout the State. Though this is an obvious exaggeration, the population for the whole of Tamil Nadu may be between one and one and half lakhs. We received written representations from individuals and groups in Tiruchirappalli, Madurai, Ramanathapuram, South Arcot and Thanjavur districts and oral evidence was also tendered at many places in all these districts. But none of these representatives were in a position to give us even rough figures of population, literacy, education and employment. From the information available of scholarships, the number of boys and girls enjoying pre-matric or post-matric scholarships is very small indeed for a population of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs. Even this progress in high school and college education has been made only in recent years. In the past no education beyond a smattering of Tamil was regarded essential for them and men were even less educated than the women. The number of men holding gazetted or higher posts is even now only a handful. They have secured no voice in local administration or even in Temple administration even now.

5. One of the reasons why these people have not taken to hard labour and other economic pursuits is the fact that as they are traditionally musicians, they are reluctant to use their fingers for work which will render them later unfit for the gentle art of playing on musical instruments. This is a kind of traditional inhibitions which has stood in the way of men and women of this caste taking to competitive jobs. Like all communities whose pursuits are a esthetic, they are vulnerable to rapid decadence unless a programme of rehabilitation is planned out for them. This can only be done after a more intensive study of the environments of the physical and mental make-up of the growing generation, and of the social handicaps they may encounter. It is heartening nevertheless to hear that they are devoted to and proud of their traditional occupation and would like steps to be taken to make this more respectable

and more rewarding. Why the Melam profession should be regarded as socially inferior in this part of the country is a matter which can be examined only by the psychologists. But evidence is not lacking to show that the profession is getting more and more respect.

6. With the decline of the demand for musicians for marriage and other social occasions, and with the economies observed in temple festivals, the remuneration for the artistes except for the top few is now very unattractive. Hindu Religious Endowment Department and various mutts and temple authorities should be moved to fix a minimum remuneration of a troupe for Nathaswaram players, consisting of four persons at not less than Rs.200/- to Rs.300/- p.m. according to the importance of the temple. Even this will not be subsistence wages, but would be a great advancement on the present level of wages which ranges from Rs.10/- to Rs.35/- per head according to the information given to us. There is also a good case for giving old age pension to these artistes who have served in temples and mutts for more than 20 years when they reach the superannuation age of 60. Their request that they should be assigned lands from temple property and should be helped to build their own houses also appears very reasonable. Though most of the representatives of the caste urged for opening of more Nathaswaram schools, the Commission does not think it desirable to encourage this in the prevailing socio-economic conditions in the State. As a measure of rehabilitation for the women of this caste, who ordinarily do not come in for field work or for coolly labour, the women's Welfare Department might draw by a scheme of imparting instruction in needle work, embroidery, tailoring and other allied arts. Qualified women in the caste should also be preferred as Instructors of Music in all schools and particularly in girls schools.

7. From the sociological point of view, it is interesting to record that in districts like South Arcot, Chingleput and Coimbatore and to some extent in Tiruchirapalli there is a tendency for the Isai Vellalas to merge or to identify themselves with Sengunthars. In fact at Tiruchirapalli we received a representation from an Association styling itself as Isai Vellala - Sengunthar Sangam. It may be, that some Isai Vellalas have taken to weaving, the traditional occupation of the Sengunthars, and have thus merged with them; or there may be other social factors operating for such merger or identification. Though the leaders of the Sengunthar community do not accept the existence of this tendency openly, the representatives of Isai Vellala caste have frequently expressed the prevalence of such tendency.

#### JANGAM:

Jangam figures as Item 43 in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list and as Item 41 in the Notification of Director of Backward Classes. This is also included in the list of Most Backward Classes, but shown under paranthesis against Item 4 'Andipandaram'. Jangam is one of the many Non-brahmin priestly classes but of Telugu origin.

Only one representation has been received from this community in the form of reply to the Questionnaire from Salem district. It is claimed that most of the people do temple services and are engaged in flower garland making, flower selling, etc. Thiru A Rasamanikam who sent a reply, claims that the Jangam people are

distributed all over the State with a population of nearly 1 lakh. This should be taken as an exaggeration. According to 1921 Census, they accounted for 30,942 and a reasonable estimate for the current year would be 60,000. They are chiefly found only in the Northern districts, particularly in Salem, Coimbatore and North Arcot adjoining the Mysore State. Salem district alone accounts for 50 per cent of their total population. The reply to the Questionnaire which is confined to Salem district, states that there are only 3 Graduates, 2 Engineers and about 60 Teachers. Few are employed in Government Service in Non-Gazetted positions.

#### JHETTY:

(Item No. 44 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission)

(Item No. 42 in the list of Backward Classes of the Department of Backward Classes.)

Jhettys are a small Telugu speaking people mostly found in Mysore and Andhra Pradesh. In Tamil Nadu their number is very insignificant. According to the representation made by the Secretary of Jhetty Welfare Organization, Madras, their present population is only 5,000. In 1921 Census they numbered 158. In the past they were chiefly found only in Thanjavur district because of royal patronage.

According to their representation, this community people mostly live in towns and cities and their men seek lower grade services in Government and in commercial firms. They are neither agriculturists nor found to be engaged in any type of degrading work. The literacy standard is fairly good in this community.

This caste's name perhaps included in the list of Backward Classes when Madras was a composite State. Since there is a very small minority, there is no need to disturb their position in the list.

#### JOGI:

(Item No. 45 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.)

(Item No. 43 in the list of Backward Classes and Item No. 18 in the list of Most Backward Classes of Department of Backward Classes.)

Jogi is one of the humblest among the very Backward Classes. Their main occupation is rearing pigs and scavenging. Street cleaning and scavenging in villages and towns are done solely by this class of people. They live in small slums isolated from the other caste people and their living conditions are pathetic. But in Municipal areas housing colonies have been provided for them. Socially they are treated as a lowest class. Their living conditions are worse than those of Scheduled Castes and untouchability applies to them.

One representation received from them claims a population of 20,000 for the caste for the whole State. Actually their number would be more. Due to their ignorance and absence of mobility and

contact among them, have under-estimated their size. Probably this would be the only case which the Commission came across under-claiming its size. Their literacy standard is practically nothing, and even to-day all children are not being sent to schools. Though treated as Most Backward Classes, they do not seem to have benefited anything from the State welfare measures during the last 20 years. Most of them are not even aware of many concessions given to them in the matter of education and in recruitment to services. Unless the department takes special effort to popularise the schemes among them and take whatever aids intended for them to their door-steps, there does not seem to be any chance of this people coming up in society. Their level is with the Scheduled Castes.

#### KAIKOLAN:

(No. 48 in Annexure D of the Notification of Backward Classes of the Department of Backward Classes and No. 49 in Annexure II of the list of Backward Classes in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list).

Numerically the Kaikolars are the biggest weaving caste in Tamil Nadu. They are also known as 'Sengunthar'. The common title is Mudaliyar, though in some places the title Nainar is also used. The sub-divisions of this caste as given in Thurston's Caste and Tribes are:

SOZLIA, RATTU, SIRVTALI, PERVTALI, SIR PADAM AND SEVAGHA  
VRITTI.

Their sub-divisions have lost much of their rigidity and most of their representatives admitted that there is practically no sub-divisions or sub-castes now.

2. The Kaikolars or Senguntha Mudaliyar are found dispersed in all the districts of Tamil Nadu, with particular concentration in the districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Salem, Coimbatore, Tiruchirapalli and Tirunelveli. Their biggest concentration is undoubtedly in North Arcot, Salem and Coimbatore. The 1921 Census discloses their population as 3,81,024 for the Tamil districts (Kanyakumari excluded), and their present population is estimated to be about 7 lakhs. Like others, this caste also has exaggerated its population as 20 lakhs.

3. The majority of these people are till engaged in their traditional occupation; and some do trade in yarns and textiles. The family must be taken as a unit; since the entire family is found engaged in the occupation. Their monthly income is said to be somewhere in the region of Rs. 60/- or Rs. 70/-. About 90 per cent of the population subsist on such meagre income. Very few have taken to agriculture or to trade other than textile trade, or to any other industry.

4. A small section of the community consisting of master weavers have retained a degree of economic affluence. They finance other weavers and sometimes own many looms, employing weavers as piece-rate wages. The children of their families have taken to education and employment in Government. In recent years children of actual weavers have also taken to education

taking advantage of scholarships and reservations. There are a few organisations for this community. The 'Then India Sengunthar Mahajana Sangam' is the oldest and best known one. It is running a hostel, behind the Pachaiappa's School in Harrington Road. It was also conducting a newspaper for the benefit of the community by name 'Senguntha Mithran'. Some poor students are given scholarships. The above organisations and some prominent individuals like Prof. A. Palaniappa of Madurai, besides submitting written replies also met us in the different places and gave oral evidences. Their grievance is that inspite of all the ameliorative measures taken by the Government to improve the lot of Handloom weavers; their conditions still continue to be backward both economically and educationally. Like other backward castes they also claim proportional representation in Government Services and for admission to educational and technical institutions. They also stressed the need for a lower standard of marks for their boys and girls, who are unable to compete with the forward communities in education and in competitive tests.

To better their economic condition, it was suggested that the Government should start Dyes and Chemical Industries and also a Industry to manufacture metallic yarn, which is so essential to weavers. One uniform request from individuals and organisations was that the benefit extended to the Scheduled Classes should also be extended to them.

5. Extreme poverty, poor living conditions, and the occupational hazards of their profession have had noticeable effect on their health, and particularly the health of their children. The Commission noticed this in several villages and brought this to the notice of some of the caste leaders, who immediately arranged for a health survey to be made in some selected villages.

It would be desirable for the Government to get some test survey of some of weaver settlements. The upper crust in this caste has made substantial progress in education and employment as our statistics reveal.

The entry should read Kaikolar (Sengunthar). The spelling Gaikolar should be avoided.

#### KALAVANTHULA.

(Item No. 15 in the list of Backward Classes.)

This community was included in the list of Backward Classes appended to the Madras Educational Rules in 1924. According to the information furnished to the Government at that time, this was obviously a Telugu community belonging to the same class as Begam, Sani or Dasi, i.e. the dancing girls community. Thurston observes Kalavanthula are dancers and singers who like other girls are courtesans. The name occurs not only in South Canara but also in the Telugu country. It is quite obvious that this community is therefore not a Tamil caste. But small numbers of them were also perhaps found in Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli and South Arcot. If such was the case in 1924, it is very likely that the community has withered out or its members have migrated to Andhra District or perhaps mixed with similar communities in Tamil Nadu. No representation was received from this community by the Commission

nor is there any information that members of this Community maintaining their distinct identity still continue to live in Tamil districts. There is therefore no need to maintain this community in our Backward Classes list.

May be deleted.

#### KALLAR.

(Item No. 52 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.)

(Item No. 51 in the Notification of Backward Classes of the Department of Backward Classes)

(Item No. 45 - Piramalai Kallar in the list of Denotified Tribes of the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.)

Kallars are one of the three castes included in the category of Mukkulathor. Various meanings have been ascribed to explain the term Kalla. Since the early years of this century, the term has been made notorious by the application of the Criminal Tribes Act to the Piramalai Kallars of Ramanathapuram, Madurai and Thanjavur districts. We have dealt with the application of the Criminal Tribes Act and the Denotification and Reclamation Scheme undertaken for their benefit in a separate chapter. According to tradition the Kallars formed an important and strategic section of the armies of the Tamil Kings and Chiefs in Olden days, when fighting was even more important profession than agriculture and supported a larger population. The Kallars then were advance guard, spies and gorilla troops, while the Maravas were then infantry troops and the Agamudayans were palace retainers and occupation forces. According to some historians the Kallars are supposed to be descendents of the Kalabirahs. Whatever might have been their origin, there always was a martial and fighting tradition attached to this people. The Royal family of Pudukottai belongs to this caste. With the abolition of the old Zamindari system and the decline of the fortune of the Royal Families and the general deterioration in the economic conditions of the dry cultivation areas of Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts the plight of the Kallars deteriorated. Their misery was aggravated by the hardships imposed by the Criminal Tribes Act. The Rehabilitation measures under the Kallar Reclamation Scheme have brought certain relief to the younger generation of this caste, in Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts.

The Kallars are found concentrated in Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Thanjavur districts and scattered in Tirunelveli. They account for 9 per cent of the population in Madurai and 10 per cent in Thanjavur and the projected population for 1961 is 8,42,509. Their present population may be about 10 lakhs for the whole State, though they claim a very much higher population.

We received written replies from Pudukottai, Madurai and Thanjavur districts and oral evidences also from many places we visited in all these districts. Thiru Mookkia Thevar, M.L.A. gave extensive oral evidence on behalf of Piramalai Kallars and on behalf of Kallars in general. The Kallar representatives always claimed

kinship with the Maravar and Agamudayars and pleaded for the uplift of all the three. Though the kinship between the three castes was traditionally accepted they led separate existence without inter-marriage etc. but in recent times there is some revival of the concept of a kinship group, though the Agamudayans are rather lukewarm about it. Thiru Thevar in his evidence observed that the application of the Criminal Tribes Act debilitated his people, while the other cultivating castes flourished and advanced. These hardships led to considerable migration, and also to eventual decline in the population of the Kallars. In spite of 50 years of reclamation work according to him, there has been no substantial employment or in higher education. Very recently a College has been started by his efforts and special encouragement is given thereby to the higher education of Kallars and other Backward Classes. He observed that various grants which could be obtained from the Central Government for the Denotified Tribes have not been properly utilised. He pleaded for the extension to the denotified Kallar all the facilities and privileges which are now being given to the Scheduled Castes.

Some but not all Kallars in Thanjavur district claim to have migrated from the southern districts, and the Nagapattinam Piramalai Kallars claim to have settled there only about two generations ago. Most of them work as coolies in the harbours. They live in huts built on temple lands and eke out a difficult existence. We met groups of Kallar representatives at Thalainaiaru, Thiruvavur and Thanjavur, Orathanad, Saliamangalam in Thanjavur district and also at Pudukottai. All the Thanjavur Kallars are living in villages mostly as contract farmers and farm workers. It so happens in most of the places they live, schools are not adequate. All of them complained about the absence of a subsidiary occupation or an alternative craft which would bring them work and wages during the long periods when there is no activity on their farms. The general complaint voiced by representatives outside was that while the Kallar Reclamation Scheme was confined to the Piramalai Kallars in Madurai, it is not extended to the Kallars or not even to Piramalai Kallars, who are settled in other districts. It must, however, be stated that Kallars of Thanjavur were never brought under the Criminal Tribes Act. Being a community that has been hard hit in various directions there is anxiety to make good fast, and thus expect extensive State assistance in all spheres. It cannot be said that except for Kallars Reclamation education work, the community would have made any noticeable progress in education, employment or in the general economic sphere.

In view of their fighting qualities, occasional gifted leadership and the presence of a few wealthy landlords amongst them, in certain areas the Kallars are looked upon as a potentially powerful force. The misery and poverty of the ordinary people can be gauged by the emaciated and illclad appearance of the boys and girls in the reclamation schools, and the lower living standard in some of the villages where State aided dwellings have been built for them. These people require aid in several ways for some time to come.

KAMMALANS (or KAMMALAS or VISWABRAHMAN or VISWAKARMAS.)

(Item No. 82 in the list of Backward Classes of the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes).

(Item No. 53 in the list of Backward Classes - Annexure-II of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.)

(Item No. 32 in the Madras Educational Rules' Backward Classes list - Appendix 17-A).

The original form of the name 'Kammalan' appears to have been 'Kannalar' or 'Kannalan' as given by Thurston. 'Kammalans', 'Kamsalas', 'Viswa Brahmans' and 'Viswa Karmas' are some of the variations in their caste name. The ordinary title is Pathar or Asari. The sub-division in the caste are of functional basis, depending on the material they work on.

- (a) Thattan (Porkollan - Gold and silver smiths)
- (b) Kannan (Copper and brass and other metal works)
- (c) Karumar or Kollan (Blacksmith)
- (d) Thacher (Carpenters and wood workers)
- (e) Kalthachen (Stone Mason, stone and metal image makers and sculptures)

Being an artisan class, essential to village economy almost every big village has a few families to cater to the needs of the local population.

Organisations and individuals who came forward to give evidence on behalf of this community in Tamil Nadu claimed a population of 25 to 30 lakhs. The following figures represent the present position as based on the 1921 Census.

Caste				1921	1971 (as projected)
KAMMALAN, KAMSALA, PANCHALA, VISVA BRAHMAN, VISVA KARMA:					
Tamil	..	..	..	5,33,012	9,88,704
Kanarese	..	..	..	4,026	7,399
Telugu	..	..	..	80,980	1,48,817

The present population may be taken as 11 lakhs.

An organisation named 'South India Visva Karma Mahajana Sangam' appears to have been in existence from 1915; two other State Associations have recently come up by name 'Tamilaga Visva Karma Community Association' and 'Tamilaga Visva Karma Association'; one having its centre at Madurai and other at Madras respectively. A third association under the name 'Tamil Nadu Visva Karma Service Society' also appears to have its headquarters at Tiruchirapalli. Soon after the introduction of the Gold Control Order, there was a spurt in forming organisations and sabhas to ventilate their grievances. In spite of its inclusion in the list of Backward Classes for a very long time it is deplorable that except for literacy in the local language, much progress has not been made. Their Associations claim that there are only 200 graduates in the entire State; out of them 20 being advocates; 6 engineers and 6 doctors. Their representation in Government services is very poor indeed for a population of over 10 lakhs. To our questions the invariable answers



have been that the boys and girls belonging to 'Viswa Karma' caste do not generally pursue college and technical education because of poverty and the practice of apprenticing them to their hereditary profession at an early age. Absence of concentration of population, lack of political power, they allege, have contributed to their backwardness inspite of their caste being a numerically big one.

A gist of representation and request made by the community before us:

Having regard to the present backward conditions of this community the persistent request was to treat them as Scheduled Caste and extend all the facilities extended to Scheduled caste. The second request was that an important sub-section of this community namely the goldsmith have been thrown out from their usual traditional occupations by an order of the Central Government. In this connection a request was made that the loans already advanced should be treated as grants and that there should be no attempt to recover them and even if they have to be recovered a long duration sympathetic policy might be adopted. Thirdly, most of their people do not own lands or houses. Either they are living in paramboke lands already threatened with eviction proceedings; or living in sites belonging to dominant caste or live in small precarious tenements. So, individuals and organisations who met us, requested that the Government must be generous in the allotment of house sites and help them also with long term loans to put up houses. In the matter of admissions and reservations to educational institutions the request was that a lower percentage of eligible mark should be adopted and there should be reservations. In the matter of employment special concessions should be given to this community in the matter of recruitment to small scale industrial concerns run by the State and co-operative efforts and so on.

Description proposed:

Kammalan or Viswa Karma (including Thattan or Porkollan, Kannan, Karuman or Kollan, Thacher and Kalthacher).

KANIYAR PANIKAR.

(Item No. 53 in the list of Backward Classes of the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes; and

Item No. 54 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and Item No. 12 in Kanyakumari District list.)

Representation has been received from this caste in the form of reply to the questionnaire. They are Malayalam speaking people and had migrated from ~~Kerala~~ long time back. Their traditional occupation in Kerala had been serving as priests, native doctors and astrologers. Panikkar is a title taken by these people.

Numerically they form a very small caste in Tamil Nadu. According to their representation there are about 100 families in the State. Their total population will be about 2,500 including Kanyakumari district. It is represented that most of them are unskilled workers serving in hotles, shops and factories. Their main plea is for inclusion in the list of Most Backward Classes. Judged from information and statistics we have collected,

this caste cannot be considered very backward to justify inclusion in Most Backward Classes. There are about 50 ~~people in~~ Government service and their educational standard is also fairly good. About 100 children are in XI Std. this year and about 30 to 40 students are in Colleges. For a small community this is not a bad performance. This may continue in the list of Backward Classes but to have a uniformity the entry may be amplified as "Kani, Kaniyan, Kanisu or Kaniyar Panikkar", both in the list of Tamil Nadu excluding Kanyakumari and in Kanyakumari list.

KAVARA OR GAVARA, VADUVAN (VADUGAN):

(Item No. 30, Kavara: Item No. 145, Vaduvan (Vadugan) in the ~~Social~~ Welfare Department's notification Annexure 'D'. Gavara including Kavara Naidus of the Coimbatore District Item No. 32 and Vaduvan including Vadugan, Item No. 40 in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission's Notification. Besides these entries Setti-Baliya- Item No. 27 in Annexure D of the Social Welfare Department's Notification without any corresponding entry in the Public Service Commission's list. There are some other entries- Item No. 137, Tholuva Naicker and Vettalakara Naicker of the Social Welfare Department Notification; Item No. 47 Thottia Naicker, etc., under the Most Backward Classes- Enclosure- 1 of the Social Welfare Department's Notification and the corresponding entry No. 172 in the Tamil Nadu Public <sup>Service</sup> Commission's list).

The entries other than Gavara and Vaduvan (Vadugan) cited above obviously relate to utterly different social classes. The commission endeavoured to ascertain what exactly Gavara (Kavara and Vaduvan (Vadugan) denote. Of these two ~~terms~~ Vaduvan (Vadugan) seems to be in more common use and is being freely used by all Telugu speaking people, whose title is generally Naidu. Witnesses who appeared before us gave conflicting evidence as to the differences in the connotation of these terms. Kamma, Kavara and Baliya appear to be the three broad sub-divisions in the community. All of them are describing themselves as Vaduvans or Vadugans. This latter term denotes to the Tamilian, some one from the North, particularly the Andhra Pradesh. There cannot, therefore, be a caste by the name, 'Vadugan'. We had representations from the Kammass claiming to be Vadugans. We had people, describing themselves as Vadugans, who claimed that they are not Kavarais. In Polur, North Arcot District, we had a representation from a community, describing itself as Vadugans whose occupation is selling bangles. They admitted they are known as Baliya Naidus also. Even among Baliya, there are Kamma Baliya, Mosuku Baliya and Valayal Baliya. At Salem a representation led by Dr. Rajaram, M.B.B.S., claimed that Vadugan, Routh Kavara and Baliya are all one and the same community. He stated that in Madurai and Coimbatore, they are known as Routh and there is no difference between Baliya and Kavara, and Kavara or Gavara is only a Tamilised name for Baliya. The deputation led by Sri Rajaram consisting of more enlightened members of the community liked the entries in the notification to be worded, thus- Vadugan including Routh, Baliya and Kavara. A deputation, which met us at Athiamankottai, Salem, stated that there are 14 branches of Naidus and though the original divisions were Kotta and Petta, the Rouths belong to the Kotta Division and all the other branches of Naidus are offshoots of the Petta Division. According to them Baliya, Velamma,

Mosuku, Singa, Kasulu, Kavara, Uppara and even Kammavar and setty Baliya and Kappu are all the same tribe. They even went to the extent of stating that 24 Manai Telugu Chettiers are also a branch of their tribe. This is too comprehensive a claim to be admitted. A deputation which met us at Paramakudi stated that Kavara and Kammavar should be treated as adi-Andhra comparable to our Adi-Dravida- a Scheduled Caste. This again is a preposterous claim. Another representation, which met us at Arur on behalf of the Kavara community stated that they have nothing to do with Baliya and that they are the people who sell bangles and, therefore, they are the most backward among the Naidus. Another deputation of Kavara is at Nagapattinam stated that they came down South from Vajayanagar in the middle of the 18th Century and they spread out mostly in Ramanathapuram district and they are a backward people. On the other hand, a very enlightened witness, principal of a College in Tirunelveli District, claimed that the description 'Vadugan' applies only to Kammas. He observed that Baliyas and Kavara is refer to the same caste and among Baliyas there are two sub-divisions Setty Baliya and Kappu Baliya. According to this witness, all Vadugans are Tamil speaking Naidus and should be regarded as one and should be classified as a backward community.

In view of all these conflicting evidences motivated largely by the desire of every section to obtain Government concessions and scholarships, the problem of defining what exactly is the genuinely backward section of the large Naidu community becomes a delicate problem. Of the various sections, the people, who sell bangles, are definitely the poorest economically and the least advanced educationally, by whatever name they are called. Generally the term kavara refers to them. It is this class which has a large proportion of people working as colliers, mill-hands and peons. On the other side of the scale are the Kamma, a caste which counts among its ranks many land owners and business people in the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, North Arcot, Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram. The ordinary people amongst them are sturdy peasants owning small pieces of lands. The Kammas are also easily identifiable.

Vaduvan or Vadugan was included in the list of Backward Classes as early as 1913 on account of their literacy being very low - vide G.O.Ms. No. 715, Education, dated 5-7-1913. In 1925, Kamma and Kammavar were also included in the list, vide G.O.Ms. No. 855, Education, dated 19-5-1925, and in 1935, Kappu was also included - G.O.Ms. No. 2116, Law and Education, dated 23-10-1935. In 1938, the Director of Public Instruction in consultation with the Collectors and Educational Officers reported that Kamma and Kammavar should be deleted from the list. The recommendation was based not purely on literacy standards, but taking into consideration the economic and social status of the caste. Kammavar and Kamma were therefore deleted, leaving Vadugan in the list. No representations protesting against the deletion are on record in the files of the Secretariat that we are able to obtain. The community called Kappu was also deleted in G.O.Ms. No. 1139, Education, dated 11-8-1942. From the circumstances that led to the issue of these orders by Government from time to time, it is apparent the term 'Vadugan' or 'Vaduvan' was not intended to cover Kamma, Kammavar or Kappu. Subsequently it was observed by Government that the entry in the list was being misused and students belonging to other Telugu communities were describing themselves as Kavara or Vadugan. On an examination of the various

claims, Government Ordered in G.O.Ms. No. 1119, Education, dated 9-8-1954, that the educational concessions granted to Backward Classes under the Madras Educational Rules be extended to pupils belonging to Kavara community in the Coimbatore district. This is in addition to the already existing 'Gavara'.

Based on representations reviewed by the Government from time to time resulting in the issue of the orders cited above and on the impression the Commission had obtained during its tours, the Commission is inclined to think that the concession was primarily intended to benefit only Kavarai Naidus. It is needless to emphasize that Kavara and Gavara refer to the same caste just as Vadugan and Vaduvan refer to the same caste. It would be in consonance with the policy of Government expounded from time to time if the existing entries are re-worded as "Gavara or Kavara" having Telugu as their mother tongue. It is absolutely necessary if Government concessions are to benefit the people for whom they are specifically intended, the definition should be precise.

Regarding the entry Vadugan or Vaduvan.

The difficulty is two fold-

(1) There are some poor sections of the community long domiciled in the South who by efflux of time have given up using their original, tribal, caste or subcaste name. The only description by which they are locally known is Vadugan.

(2) Every Telugu speaking Naidu claims that he is a Vadugan because the term only means a Northerner and particularly some one from Andhra. Every progressive section, besides the Kavara claims that it is entitled to this caste description.

It must be recorded that the achievement of the Vadugan community by all the standards of assessment used by us is almost on the top of the Backward Classes. This is possibly only because of the infiltration of castes specifically excluded by Government Order under this general description Vadugan. The generally poorer sections, therefore, do not appear to have benefited as much as the statistics might convey. We, therefore, recommend that the term 'Vadugan' should be amplified by inserting the exclusion already order by Government. In that event the entry should read-'Vadugan or Vaduvan (Other than Kamma, Kappu, Reddi)'.

One consolidated entry is suggested-Kavarai (Gavarai) and Vadugan (Vaduvan)-(Other than Kamma, Balija Kappu and Reddi).

KATESAN OR PATTAMKATTI.

(Item No. 47 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission. Item No. 47 in the list of Backward Classes of Social Welfare Department.)

Katesan is another small caste found in few villages of Ramana-thapuram and Tirunelveli Districts. One Thiru M. Sivalingam, Station Master, Kannathukadav, who claiming to be the sole member from his community to be occupying a respectable position in service has sent a detailed reply to the questionnaire. The total population of the caste is said to be less than 2,000. Their traditional occupation has been working on palmyrah leaves and

even today all the people continue in the same avocation of working palmyrah leave baskets for packing fruits, jaggeries and sweetmeat. They have not switched over to agriculture even. The work is carried on in their own homes and men, women and children are engaged in it. Numerically being very small, it is stated that they have not benefitted anything so far from the various welfare measures introduced by the Government during the last 20 years.

Probably with a view to take advantage, some of them have declared their caste name as 'Kadaiyan' which figures in the Scheduled Caste list, when their children are put to schools. But they say they have not availed the concessions intended for Scheduled Caste so far and only want to continue as a backward class. Their educational standard is stated to be very low. There are only a few graduates from this caste.

Since most of the people continue their traditional occupation they say any useful handicrafts or small scale industry which could improve their earnings and economic status can be introduced on co-operative basis. Their main request is that they should be treated as a Most Backward Class which appears to be reasonable.

#### KHATRI:

(Item No. 59 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.)

Item No. 59 in the list of Backward Classes of Social Welfare Department.

Khatrī is a class of silk weavers, claiming to be kshatriyas. Kshatriya is generic name covering many castes under its fold. Khatrī is one such sub-caste and they style themselves as Bujukshatriyas using Sah as their title. The community has a statewide association called 'Bujukshatriyas (Khatrī) Association'. They have sent a reply to the questionnaire and also a memorandum. Their representatives were also heard by the commission at Madras.

They are stated to be dispersed throughout the State with a concentration in Kancheepuram taluk and to some extent in Madras City. Another important place of concentration is Madurai. Most of them live in towns and rural population from this caste is rather negligible. They carry on their traditional occupation of silk weaving, colouring, dyeing, manufacturing Jari, Jari garlands etc.,. They claim to be educationally very backward with literacy percentage less than 10, and handful of graduates. While they suppress their achievements, claim the size of their population at one lakh.

The total kshatriya population in 1921 was 1,27,016. Khatrī is only a sub-division among Kshatriya, found in pockets like Kancheepuram and Madurai. The Khatris have a dialect of their own called Khatrī language which is a mixture of Gujarathi and Hindusthani. In 1891 Census about 400 people have been returned as speaking khatrī. The representatives also admit that Khatrī language is spoken in their homes. Taking all these things into consideration, their population can not be estimated at more than 10,000.

They have pleaded for inclusion under Most Backward Classes, for which there is no justification. Their attainments in higher education might not be very high; but, their literary level appears

to be high. Socially they are not considered inferior. Many of them are engaged in lucrative silk weaving business.

KULALA (KUSAVAN--POTTER):

Item No. 65. Kulala (Kosava) and No. 160 Kosavan in Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list.

Item No. 65. Annexure D Directorate of Backward Classes;  
No. 21. Kusavan and No. 22. Kulalas in Annexure E of  
Most Backward Classes list.

Item No. 65. Kulala in Madras Educational Rules.

Kusavan is one of the artisan castes in Tamil Nadu. They take different titles 'Udayar, Velan and Chettiar' - Udayar being the most popular. Kulala is a slightly sanskritised term preferred by the caste in some districts. This caste is found dispersed in all the districts of Tamil Nadu as this was regarded as a service caste essential for village economy.

They projected population figure for 1971 is 2,86,873, or roughly 3 lakhs.

General Condition:

In the 1901 Census, we find reported that most of this community are not well off and most of them earn their livelihood by Cooly work. Introduction of machinery in making tiles and pottery aggravated their poverty - so also the manufacture of Metalwares and utensils for house-hold needs. Government had issued orders even in 1907 (G.O.Ms 737, Education, dated 4-11-1907) treating this community as backward for purposes of Grant-in-aid Code. In 1913 when the list was revised the Kusavans of Tamil Nadu were also included in the list of Backward Classes.

In 1949, on some representations, the term 'Kulala' was also included to indicate the community at present known as 'Kuyavan' or 'Kusava'. [Vide G.O.Ms. 1403, Public (Election) dated 7-5-1949] A little later by G.O. 2061, Education, dated 27-6-49 the word 'Kusavan' was deleted from the list of Backward Classes to give way for the term 'Kulala'. In the year 1957, this community was included in the list of Most Backward Classes.

In spite of Educational facilities being extended to this community of Potters for the past 60 years or so, no appreciable headway appears to have been made. From the representations made to us it may be observed that 90% of this community continue to live in villages and are mostly engaged in making earthenware, which are mostly sold in the nearby shandies. Some are found employed as masons, brick-kiln workers etc., A negligible percentage had migrated to towns; and our study discloses that if they find work their earning per head would be in the region of Rs. 5 or so; and if a family consisting of husband and wife work, the possible daily income may be about Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 or so; or roughly Rs. 60 per week. This earning is neither constant nor widespread. One general grievance ventilated was that in the villages, after the introduction of the Panchayat, Old poramboke sites where they used to have their kiln are no longer available and even if permitted by panchayat a fairly disproportionate and heavy levy is imposed and collected, which the members of this community are not in a position to pay.

It is also their general complaint that the poramboke sites in which they have put up their thatched houses are also facing eviction proceedings. Such grievances have been ventilated by other backward classes too.

Conspicuous among the Sangams which sent replies to our Questionnaire are the following:

1. Tamil Nadu Pirpattore Nala Munnetra Sangam from Coimbatore.
2. North Arcot District Kulalar Sangam.
3. Kulalar Ilainzar Nala Sangam, Tiruthuraiipoondy.
4. Kulala Youngmen's Association, Madras.

Representatives of this community also met us at Cheyyar, Vellore (North Arcot District) at Tirunelveli, at Madurai and Kumarachi in South Arcot district. Their requests are on the following lines.

1. That all the concessions, reservations and held extended to the scheduled caste should also be extended to them.
2. That Government should be generous in allotting house sites and also making available Kiln sites in villages and towns.
3. That Government should help them to form Co-operative marketing societies to enable them to sell their earthenwares at an advantage for a better price.
4. That special reservation should be made for the members of this community in Industrial concerns, either run by Government or Quasi Government engaged in Manufacturing of earthenware.
5. That in Poly-technics facility should be provided for teaching advanced method of earthenware making and facilities equally given for admission of the Potter community boys in those Institutions.
6. Easy loan facilities should be provided.

The community may be described as Kulala including Kosavan.

#### KUNNUVAR MANNADI:

(Item No. 161 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item No. 23 in the list of Most Backward Classes of Social Welfare Department.)

'Kunnuvar Mannadi' is a small caste of agriculturists, and plantation workers confined to Kodaikanal taluk in Madurai district. Their representatives met the Commission at Madurai and said that they are a tribal people. Their total number is stated to be about 15,000 and all of them are working as coolies in plantations. They pleaded that they should be included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. One of their subsidiary occupation is honey-making and they also run a co-operative society of honey-making. Their literacy standard is fairly good and they have produced 12 graduates,

2 engineers, 1 doctor and more than 30 employed in Government and private sector undertakings.

It is understood that this community made repeated representations to the Government in the past for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Tribes. After consultation with the Collector, the Government have recommended the name of the caste to the Government of India. It is seen that the name has been included in the list of Scheduled Tribes and Castes bill of 1967. Till the Bill is passed they may continue in the Backward Classes list.

### KURUBAS AND KURUMBAS

#### KURUBA:

Item No. 66 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item No. 66 in the list of Backward Classes and item No. 24 in the list of Most Backward Classes of Social Welfare Department.

#### KURUBA:

Item No. 67 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item No. 67 in the list of Backward Classes and item No. 24 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

The Commission received reply to the Questionnaire from 'Tamizhaga Kurumbakula Munnetra Peravai' which is a statewide organisation. Two other replies, one from Coimbatore and another from Madurai were also received. The Commission also heard their representations at Madras and Coimbatore.

As per the replies to the Questionnaire, it is seen that the Kurumba people are dispersed in all the districts except Kanyakumari. But they are concentrated in Coimbatore and Salem districts and speak Canarese. They rear a special breed of sheep, called 'Kurumba'. Though their profession is tending sheep, they did not admit any kinship with the 'Yadava' or 'Idayans' and would like to retain their distinct identity. In rural areas some of them are cultivators; but, mostly as tenants and agricultural labourers. In some districts, brick manufacturing and lime burning are the other important occupations for them. Only few of them live in urban areas engaged as petty traders and cooly workers as in Coimbatore.

They claim that they are educationally very backward. The percentage of literacy among them is said to be only 1 per cent. Because of their way of life, their children are not able to pursue higher education. In schools their boys and girls do not fare very well in studies. On the whole for the entire State, they say, there are about 30 graduates, 5 Engineers, 4 Doctors, 2 Advocates, 1 Veterinary Doctor and 14 Agricultural graduates. They have a grievance that their community people are not represented



in the Government services. In the entire State, they say there are only 3 gazetted officers and 100 non-gazetted officers, including primary school teachers from their community.

Their Central Association estimates their population at 15 lakhs for the State. In 1921 Census, Kurumbas accounted for 1,49,084 and Kurumbas 5,624. Therefore, on a very liberal estimate their population cannot exceed 3.5 lakhs.

Their main grievance is that Kurumbas in the Nilgiris district are treated as Scheduled Tribe, on account of which they enjoy more benefits from the Government, whereas their counter-parts in the plains are denied these concessions. Hence, they plead that the whole Kurumba community should be treated as Scheduled Tribe - as Adivasies. Their representatives who gave evidence at Coimbatore, however, admitted that they have no evidence to establish their status as Adivasi or Tribe.

There are very few tribal elements in their social life. They have never been regarded as untouchables or outsiders in Hindu fold. They use their own caste priests for weddings - but, many other non-Brahmin castes do so too. They practice widow-re-marriage - that too is practiced by many large non-Brahmin castes. They observe monogamy and the married people live apart from their joint family.

In Coimbatore and in Salem areas, there are several large sheep owners; about 1,000 owning more than 100 heads and above 20 owning larger heads of 1,000 and more. The smaller herdsmen owning a few sheep are very many. Group of Kurumba men collect herds from the bigger owners and move from place to place for grazing. They get paid for herding sheep in fields for manure and get paid by their bigger sheep owners for their services.

While the menfold are out for grazing their sheep, their women and children remain at home. From the wool shaved from the 'Kurumba' sheep, coarse blankets are made. The acrding, spinning and weaving are done both by men and women.

What is essential is assistance for improving the breed of sheep, and for improving the cottage wool industry. Economically, they are in no way worse off than the 'Idayans' and there is no justification in treating them as 'Tribe'. Educationally they are definitely backward, partly owing to their way of life.

At present there are two items, namely, Kuruba and Kurumba in the list. Kurumbas appear to be Tamil form and Kuruba, Canarese form. As such both of them can be linked together and mentioned under one common name - 'Kurumba'.

#### KONGU CHETTIAR (Coimbatore District).

Item No. 159 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item No. 19 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Kongu Chettiar is numerically one of the smallest castes in the State found only in Coimbatore district. They are distributed in about 55 villages in the district; but their chief concentration is in Avanashi taluk. In view of their small size they were able to give the villagewise population. In all they are about 9,155. Ninety per cent of the population is said to be working as agricultural labourers earning an average annual income of Rs. 1,000/- per family. Their literacy standard is low and there are only 7 graduates, 1 Engineers and 2 diploma holders according to their representation.

They say that there are two sub-divisions among them namely, 'Kongu Chettiar' and 'Inoother Chettiar' (இனத்தார்). Since the entry in the list covers only Kongu Chettiers, they complain that officials refuse to issue certificates to those declaring themselves as 'Inoother Chettiar' and hence want 'Inoother Chettiers' also to be included in the list. Though it is claimed that both Inoother Chettiar and Kongu Chettiar are one and the same, yet there is an important distinction - while Kongu Chettiers are non-vegetarians, Inoother Chettiers are vegetarians. It is perhaps for this reason that Inoother Chettiers have not been included in the past. There does not seem to be sufficient reason for any change now.

#### LABBAIS:

Item No. 68 in Annexure D of the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 68 Labbai in Annexure II in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

The term 'Labbai' has been colloquially used for a very long time to describe the Muslim population of Tamil Nadu whose ancestors at one time or other have been converted to Islam either by Missionary efforts or by contact with Arab traders and settlers.

The Muslim invaders from the North and the new settlers after the wake of invasions were of foreign origin or of mixed descent. They called themselves Sheiks, Syeds and Pathans. Three distinctive groups of Sheiks, Syeds and Pathans were separately indicated in the early Census Reports and the Tamil Muslims were indicated as Labbais. But in the Census Report of 1931, only the Labbais were separately enumerated; however, the total Muslim population was always enumerated in all Census Reports. During the last few centuries thousands of families from both sides must have intermarried and mingled together. Further, in recent years it is claimed many Labbai families have adopted Urdu as their mother-tongue; and, consciously or not, assumed certain living habits of the Muslims who came from the North. Representatives of the Muslim community urged that in the conditions that prevail today there is no justification for having two groups as Labbai and non-Labbai.

Regarding the original connotation of the term 'Labbai', reference is invited to the Census Reports of 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921. In the Census Report of 1881, a very interesting description of the Labbais is found:

"Found chiefly in Tanjore and Madura. They are Mappillas of the Coromandel coast, that is to say, converted Dravidians, or Hundus, with a slight admixture of Arab blood."

Similarly in the Census Report of 1891, there is a reference to the Labbais as follows:

"The Muhammadans of this Presidency are mostly of Dravidian origin, but a few are descendants of Pathan and Moghul immigrants and present the unmistakable type of features found in those races in Upper India. These and a small proportion of the indigenous Musalmans speak Hindusthani or Daccani, but the majority retain the vernacular of their ancestors, Tamil in the case of Labbais, and Malayalam in the case of the Mappillas."

It has been claimed that about 85 to 90% of the local Tamil Muslim population in Tamil Nadu can claim that they are entitled to come within the broad heading of 'Labbai', whatever may be the proportion of Labbais to the total population of Muslims in the last Census where other Muslims were separately enumerated in 1921 Census.

Even from the early start Labbais have been listed in the Backward list. They have continued in the Backward Class list all these years receiving the concessions which are extended to the weaker sections of the community. Added to this, the Muslim community as such was given two reservations out of twelve; and, in appointments till 1947, one out of fourteen by the Communal G.O.Ms. No. 3447, Public (Services), dated 21-11-1947. After 1951, except the Labbais who came under the 25% reservation reserved for Backward Classes, the rest of the Muslim community are not having the benefit of any reservation. This has been dealt with in Chapter III. In the representation made to us it was very strongly urged that the above has done great harm to the Non-Labbai Muslim population. The whole gamut of representations is that all Muslims should be given the benefit of inclusion in the list of Backward Classes.

#### Population:

The 1921 Census gives the Labbai population as 3,33,660. That would work out to 37.7% of the total Muslim population. (For 1971 the figure can be projected to 6,53,639). In the 1931 Census the Labbai population has been indicated as 3,47,276. The 1961 Census Report gives the total Muslim population as 15,60,414 which works out to 4.6 per cent of the total population. The representatives of the Muslim community in their written as well as direct evidence represented that the population figure given in the Census Reports do not reflect the real state of things and that they are little over 10% of the total population of Tamil Nadu. In other words, their claim is that they are about 30 lakhs to 35 lakhs. In support of the above claim, reliance is placed upon the electoral roll prepared and made available for the General Election in 1967 where the percentage of the Muslim voters works out to 10.75 per cent approximately of the total number of electorates. One Muslim M.L.C. went even to the extent of asserting that the above was projected before the late Chief Minister and he conceded the above position. All this evidence, however, was not placed before the Commission and we had no means of checking these assertions. These might have been very weighty reasons for challenging the correctness of the Census figures; but in the absence of any other correct data, the Commission has consistently depended on the figures projected from

the last Census for population figures of all communities. It was very strongly urged by the Muslim Representatives that the State Government should impress upon the Central Government the necessity of taking a correct Census in 1971 so that the older contentions got inaccurately are not repeated.

The population of Muslims for 1971 as Projected would be 18,54,425 and the basis of the 1921 and 1931 Labbai figures, their population in 1971 would be 6,53,639. But as we have already observed, the original Labbai population has intermingled with others, and most Muslims claiming educational privileges have declared themselves as Labbais whether they are entitled to this description or not, and the Department has been accepting Muslims if they speak some Tamil, as Labbais. The non-beneficiaries are but the dwindling groups who stick to Urdu as their normal speaking medium.

#### Conditions of Labbais:

From the representations received by us it is evident that economically and educationally the Tamil Muslims are still backward. That explains why in backward areas we find Muslim concentrations. They are found in all the districts. Muslims had migrated in large numbers to Burma, Ceylon and Malaya and many have now been forced back to their home land. We learn that repatriation has created very many problems. Besides those who have already returned, it was said that still some 3 lakhs are expected to return to their homeland in Ramanathapuram District very soon and a good number of them are likely to be Muslims. These are problems which have to be tackled by the Government almost on an emergency basis. In this connection it was mentioned that the quickening of the 'Sethu Samuthram Project' is likely to bring the necessary relief in that area. Muslims have taken practically to all the professions of the Backward Classes, from weaving, net weaving to fishing. In Melapalayam town in Tirunelveli alone there are about thirty thousand Muslims engaged in weaving. Their conditions are as bad as the condition of any other weaving caste elsewhere. Along the coastal areas there are many Muslims engaged in fishing. Their conditions economically are on a par with the Meenavans (Paravatharajakulam). In the districts of Salem and Dharmapuri and in some areas in North Arcot, South Arcot and Thanjavur many Muslim families are employed in the Beedi industry in one stage of work or other. In the districts of South Arcot, North Arcot, Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli, some Muslim families own betel gardens, but among them very few are landowners - as gardens are generally leased on co-operative basis by the vinegrowers.

One great handicap from which Muslim families suffer is that the women folk do not go for outside labour work. Hence their preference for weaving and beedi rolling which can be done at home. There appears to be much force in the request made by the representatives of the community that alternative employment for the women folk have to be provided near their home, so that that the women folk could find some source of an alternative earning and augment the total income of the family. Cottage industries like mat weaving, basket making, zari making, garments making and pappad making, have been suggested.

Some families have taken to trade and business in recent decades. A few are industrialists. The tanning industry in the

South owes its origin to certain enterprising Muslim families in the South. As was represented in North Arcot, only the entrepreneurs are Muslims; workers are all mostly Harijans. The beedi industry still is mostly in the hands of Muslims. In towns and cities, large numbers of them are engaged on petty trade.

But the main grievance of the local Muslim population appears to be that in the past 20 or 30 years, there is an increasing tendency not to appoint Muslims in certain key positions - Military or Police. Even in posts where Muslims are selected, the numbers are decreasing and not at all in proportion to their population.

#### Education:

It was in the educational field the Tamil Muslims were considered most backward. But in the recent years there has been considerable progress in the Muslims education in Tamil Nadu. The above is not only due to the new spirit which has come among the Tamil Muslims to better their prospects by their own efforts; but also due to the facilities and help extended to them by the Government. Literacy among the Muslim families cannot in any sense be said to exceed 10 to 20 per cent. The statistics we have collected are tabulated elsewhere. However, as observed above, there is a spurt in recent years. About 50 to 60 High Schools and about 10 or 11 Colleges sponsored by Muslim private charity have recently sprung up. It is said that the above is the only bright aspect about Muslim education and still much leeway has to be made.

Special attention should be focussed on Muslim Girls' education. Since Muslim parents do not like to send their girls to co-education institutions, there is a necessity to start schools and colleges for girls exclusively, in areas where there is Muslim concentration. To give a few instances:— Porto Novo in South Arcot District; Nagoor, Nagapattinam, Muthupet and Athirampattinam in East Thanjavur; Ayyampettai, Pandaravadai area, Aduthurai, Valangaiman, Solavaram (in West Thanjavur), Tiruvarur (in East Thanjavur), Pudukkottai, Palakkarai (Tiruchirapalli Town), Labbaikudi taluk, Pallavettai in Tiruchirapalli District, Dindigul, Periakulam, Melur and Cumbum in Madurai District, Aruppukottai, Kilakarai, Thiruvadanai and Ramanathapuram in Ramanathapuram District; Melapalayam, Pettai, Kadianallur, Tenkasi and Ravanasamudram in Tirunelveli District, Ranipet, Ambur, Vellore and Vaniambadi in North Arcot District; Salem, Attur, Namakkal in Salem District; and Coimbatore, Mettupalayam and Erode in Coimbatore District. These should be more fully investigated by the educational authorities.

#### General:

It is a matter for the Government to consider whether the distinction between Labbais and Non-Labbais should continue to be maintained. The Muslims urge that their entire community should be treated as one and indivisible.

#### LAMBADIES AND SUGALIS:

Item No. 69 Lambadies in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and Item No. 69 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 128 Sugalis in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and Item No. 132 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Lambadies are a class of semi-nomadic tribe and only recently they have settled down in select villages. Lambadies are found all over India and they are known by different names in different States. In Maharashtra and Haryana they are called Sugalis. Government have assigned housesites to them in Poramboke lands to make them permanently settled down and lead a normal life. Such colonies called Thandas by them and they are 42 in number in State. The largest number of such Thandas are in Dharmapuri (20), next comes North Arcot (10), the rest are located in Salem and Coimbatore districts.

Their representatives met the Commission at Krishnagiri, Arur and Vellore and presented their case. They have a statewide association called Panjara (Lambadies) Maha Jana Sabhai. The President of the Association has sent a detailed memoranda in the form of replies to the questionnaire. The Chairman also visited the Lambadi colony at Purasapattu in Chengam taluk to study their living conditions. They claim a total population of 15 to 25 thousands. This may be an exaggerated claim.

Decades before, they were in the habit of moving from place to place carrying salt and other merchandise for trade. With permanent settlement in colonies now, most of them have taken to cultivation. A few of them are petty landowners and tenant cultivators. Barring these few, the rest of the people who would form nearly 90% of their total population engaged themselves as agricultural labourers. Socially they still maintain their identity as a separate tribe. Their womenfolk wear colourful costumes stitched by them, and their social customs are still tribal in nature. Their representatives said that polygamy and polyandry are still practised by them, divorce and re-marriages are common. Within their fold there is no caste distinction and services like barbering and washing are carried by their own men. Artisans like carpenters and blacksmiths are from their own group. All these features indicate that they form a self-contained unit which are characteristics of a tribe.

Their literacy standard is very poor. They speak a dialect of their own which is a mixture of Hindustani and Urdu and has no script. Graduates among them can be countered by one's fingers and a few have passed S.S.J.L.C. But it is claimed that even the few educated remain unemployed. There might be about 10 to 50 employed in Government service, but mostly as last grade servants and lower division clerks. They represent that if some cottage and village industries like brick, paper and furniture making; and, poultry keeping are started exclusively for them on co-operative basis, their economic status would very much improve which sounds reasonable. They say that Lambadies are treated as a Scheduled Tribe in other States like Maharashtra and Mysore and Andhra Pradesh and their main contention is that they should be similarly treated in our State too. On verification it is found that Sugalis (which is a Telugu name for Lambadi) figures as a tribe in the list of Andhra Pradesh. We also understood that the State Government has already written to the Government of India recommending the inclusion of Lambadi under Scheduled Tribes.

Till official recognition is given to that, the entry in the Backward Classes list may continue. In view of the fact that the Lambadies and Sugalis are one and the same, the entry Sugalis may be deleted from the list.

#### MAHARATTA NON-BRAHMINS.

Item No. 5, 73, and 95 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item Nos. 4, 72, 94 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Among these three groups, Are Maharati is a small group of Marathi speaking people found only in South Kanara district. From the records available it is seen that these people have been enjoying comparatively a higher social status. Besides, this is a sect confined only to South Kanara district. No representation has either been received from them. This may therefore be deleted from the list.

Representatives of Maharatta Non-Brahmin community who appeared before the Commission stated that Namdwv Maharatta is only a sub-sect of Maharatta Non-Brahmins. But it must be noted that these two castes had been maintaining their identities separately and inter-marriage between them have not been common till recently.

Among these two, Namdwv Maharattas are said to have come to the South much earlier than the other Maharatta Non-Brahmins. The latter came to the South as soldiers and camp followers in the armies of the Maharatta invaders. Namdev Maharattas, according to their oral evidence in North Arcot, follow some traditional occupations like tailoring, embroidery work and dyeing. They are found in North district and chiefly in Wallajabad taluk.

The caste Maharatta Non-Brahmins refers to various Maharattas Sudra castes found throughout Tamil Nadu; A large Maharatta population was found in Thanjavur district during 19th century and after the downfall of Thanjavur Royal Family, they were all scattered throughout Tamil Nadu. They migrated to other districts in search of jobs to eke out a living. The representatives of this community claim a population ranging from 2 to 4 lakhs, which they admitted is only a guess work. In 1921 Census all the Maharattas in Tamil Nadu accounted for 17,963. So their present size may not exceed 35,000 at any rate and the chief area of concentration is Thanjavur district. Their representatives were not able to give any definite data about their literacy and educational standard and representation in Government services. But the general impression given by them is that there are only a few graduates (40 to 50 graduates) and another 200 boys and girls attending colleges. According to one representation there are 36 Diploma holders, 84 Degree holders, 2222 Matriculates. Boys and girls in towns normally study upto S.S.L.C. But in villages educational standard might be comparatively lower. There are many in Government service and some of them are gazetted officers. They complain that economically they are very poor and even their children are being sent to odd jobs, because of poverty. Apart from tailoring, there is no other job to which these people take to in large numbers. Among the rural population it is stated that many are landless workers and only a few of them are land-owners.

A State level organisation has recently been formed which has sent reply to the questionnaire in a consolidated manner covering Non-Brahmin Maharattas and Namdev Maharattas. On the whole this caste has shown signs of some progress.

There is no need for three separate items in figure in the list. Are Maharatta can be deleted from the list and the other two can be clubbed ~~together~~ and shown as one item in the list of Backward Classes.

#### MAHENDRA (MEDARA):

Item No. 72 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list.

#### MAHENDRA (MADARA): MUDUGAR, MEDAVAR, MAHENDRA MADARA:

Item No. 71 in the list of Backward Classes and Item No. 26 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

This is a fairly widespread community now found concentrated near some towns and marketing centres. According to Thurston, Madaras are workers in bamboo, ~~making~~ sieves, baskets, ~~cradles~~, mats, boxes, umbrellas and screens. According to legend, they are called Mahendra, because they came from Mahendra Parvatha, abode of Indra. In some parts of Tamil Nadu, they are also called Venukula from Venu for bamboo. Their representatives have claimed for the caste, a population of 80,000 to 2 lakhs. Written representations were received from Thiruvanaikaval, Trichy, Madurai, Panrutti, Erode, Tiruchengode and Attur in Salem district. A representation was also received from the Mahendran Medara Sangam, in Madras.

Majority of their people even now have struck to their traditional occupation of making articles from the bamboo. But instead of being found in the hilly tracks where bamboos grow, they have migrated to places where bamboo articles could be easily marketed. Besides Srirangam, Tiruvanaikaval, a fairly big concentration is found in Madurai, Panrutti and Tiruchengode and Madras. This accounts for their success with getting a municipal councillor elected in Srirangam, and Madurai. As there is no means for estimation of their population from Census or other records, we tried to ascertain it by interrogating the witnesses who appeared before us. The Mahendra Medara Sangam representatives admitted about 400 families in Tiruvanaikaval and perhaps about 2,000 families outside in the whole of Tamil Nadu. About 15,000 may be a fair estimate. They speak mostly a corrupt form of Telugu. The usual titles adopted are Rao, Naidu and Chetty. In Coimbatore they are also described as "Vedakar". ( வேதகரர் ). There is no doubt the community has made very little progress in education or employment in recent years.

According to the Mahendra Medara Sangam, Madras there are about 5 men who have been to college and probably about 10 who are in low grade Government Servants. It is claimed that there are no graduates or higher degree holders among them.

Their main requests are, provision of housing and supply of bamboos for their hereditary trade. Most of them live in temporary sheds on roadsides near temples and river beds. In view of the high cost of bamboos and unavailability in adequate quantity, they are not able to pursue their avocations with profit.



This community has probably made the least progress in education and employment. They still have some traces of their tribal life and tribal customs. They have made a very strong plea that they should be regarded as a Scheduled Tribe. But in view of their having settled near urban areas, it is perhaps a little doubtful whether a case could be made out for inclusion of this caste in the list of Scheduled Tribes. Their retention in the list of Most Backward Classes is justified, but unless special efforts are taken to improve their housing conditions and to make their hereditary profession more paying it is difficult to emancipate them adequately.

The term Mahendra Medhara need no change. The other descriptions may be dropped.

#### MAPPILLA:

Item No. 77 Mappilla in Annexure D of the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 78 Mappilla in Annexure II of the list of Backward Classes in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Besides the Labbais and Dukkulas the other Muslim group who find a place in the backward classes list are the Mappillas. The Mappillas of Malabar district are the counterparts of the Labbais in Tamil Nadu. They were also known as 'Labbais' because they were converts. Their homeland is Kerala. But a good number of them live in Tamil Nadu. Some are in Government Services, some are traders and some in places like Nilgiris are found doing odd manual works.

No separate statistics are available. Possibly in the 1971 Census we will have some enlightenment on that matter.

The Mappillas are treated as backward in Kerala State. Therefore there is a case for continuing them in our backward classes list.

#### MARAVAR:

Item No. 78 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 80 in the list of Backward Classes in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item No. 34 in the list of Denotified Tribes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

The Maravar constitute about 13 per cent of the population in Tirunelveli district, 9.4 per cent of Ramanathapuram district, and 2.7 per cent of Madurai district. They are found in smaller number in Kanyakumari, Coimbatore and Salem districts also. In the former two districts there were several Marava Zamindars. It is a noteworthy feature that if there were a number of Zamindars in a particular caste the ordinary population excluding the members of the Zamindar families tend to decline culturally and economically, having been treated as serfs by the Zamindars. The Commission received several

representations from representatives of this caste in Kanyakumari, Tirunelveli, Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Salem districts. Besides, representations from several individuals were also received. The small Marava population in Kanyakumari are obviously settlers from the Tirunelveli during the 19th Century. Though many other communities in the backward list of Kanyakumari made substantial progress in education, this community appears to have lagged behind. They have a feeling that the Maravas in other districts get a better deal because they are included in the list of Denotified Tribes, though in practice no special reclamation schemes have been designed to benefit the Maravas in other districts. Notwithstanding, their general complaint of backwardness in the Kanyakumari district, their representatives who met us on 3-2-70 admitted there were 19 graduates for a population of only 4,425. This is partly due to the higher educational progress in the State of Travancore to which this district belonged before States Reorganisation. Naturally in that district, where the Nadars, both Hindu and Christian are in dominant position the Marava compare their lot with this community. The Tirunelveli representatives claim that only 5 per cent of their population are small land owners and another 5 per cent are tenant farmers and they suffer from the domination of some of the forward communities. They claim only 10 per cent literacy. One of the reasons for the backwardness in education is, the absence of schools and colleges in the areas like Nanguneri where this community is found in large numbers. Madurai and Ramanathapuram representatives also claimed that they are educationally and economically very backward, and cited some instances of their poor progress. In Periakulam taluk there are only 3 graduates, two engineers and not a single Doctor or agricultural graduate, and there is considerable unemployment among their educated men. A leading lawyer of Tirunelveli who said that in a bar of 125 lawyers there were only 12 Maravas. General feeling among Most Marava representatives is that though in recent times they have made some progress in the political field by capturing seats in the Legislature and in the Unions, they have not been able to exercise any influence even in the matter of getting their qualified men employed. Most of them pleaded that the Marava community has been very unfairly treated by assigning Reclamation Scheme only to the Piramalai Kallars. They pleaded for a Reclamation scheme for all the Maravas as the Maravas in the three districts are declared as Denotified Tribes. The claimed all privileges and concessions shown to the Scheduled Castes should be given to them, and they should get separate representation in proportion to their population in all services.

Regarding their numerical strength like other communities they have also made exaggerated claims - even upto 1 crore of population, and 2 crores taking the three Mukkulathors. The Marava population is projected as 7 lakhs for the whole State for 1961 and may be about 8.25 lakhs now.

Except for a small layer of land owners drawn from the old Zamindari families and their associates, the bulk of the population, engaged in agriculture and manual work are poor by comparative standard. There is however a tendency to exaggerate their landlessness. It was represented to us that in Mudukulathur taluk in Ramanathapuram District few Maravas owned land. As a test check we referred this to the Collector for verification, and he has stated that half the Marava people own lands.

Their progress in Education and Government employment is definitely inconsiderable. There is no evidence of them turning to petty trades or business even. Of the three Mukkulathar castes the Maravas have certainly the least progress to their credit. There case has been dealt with in the Chapter on Denotified Tribes. Much has to be done to them, if they are to come up to the level of the better off Backward Classes.

#### MARUTHUVAR: MANGALA:

Item No. 76 Mangala in the list of Backward Classes and Item No. 79 Maruthuvar in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes,

Item No. 27 Mangala, Item No. 28 Maruthuvar (Navithan) in the Most Backward Classes list of Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 77 Mangala and Item No. 81 Maruthuvar in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item No. 13 Kerala Mudali, Vilakkuthalavan (Thurston) in the list of Backward Classes in Kanyakumari District.

In the 1921 Census this community was described as 'Ambattan'. Subsequently in the official list of Backward Classes, they are described as Maruthuvar. They are also known as Navithar, Pandithar, and Melakkarar. Mangalas are the Telugu-speaking people of this community. In Kanyakumari District they are called Kerala Mudalis. Thurston describes them as Velakkithala Nayars.

There are 4 divisions amongst them in some districts known as Setti Ambattan, Vaduga Ambattan, Valangai and Edangai Ambattan serving particular castes. The women act as midwives and treat children's diseases. Some serve exclusively for particular communities such as Vellala Goundars and do odd jobs, like running errands. Scheduled Caste people have their own Barbers and washer-men.

Their population for Madras State for 1970 as projected from 1921 Census and including Kanyakumari district is 4,20,349. The estimate by the representatives is from 5 to 20 lakhs. They are spread all over the State and there may not be any village without one or two families of barbers. They also act as Siddha physicians and some as pipers and drummers. The tendency is to migrate to towns where they run shaving saloons and are able to earn more. Mostly they are Hindus. Representations from Tiruchirapalli and Ramnad refer to Muslims doing this profession. That from Peelamedu, Coimbatore, Orathanad and Guindy refer to Christians as barbers and that they should be given similar facilities as others.

The Maruthuvvars are well-organised. They have two associations at State level representing the two spheres of medicine and hair-dressing. They have local associations in most of the places. Representations were made to the Commission in almost all the places visited.

It was observed that the educated members of the community, migrate to other places and avoid any connection with the other members of the community. It was alleged that they even change their caste names, and adopt titles like Pillai, Nayudu, Mudaliars.

The conditions of service of the barbers in the villages definitely need improvement. Being in a minority consisting of one two families only, they are not in a position to assert as against the land-owning class. It appears that the wages in kind fixed for the year in the distant past is being contained. It carried from 16 to 20 Madras measures of grain per married man including his children, as a unit. A barber may get about 15 kalams from the villagers for the whole years. Besides this, there was the practice of getting cooked rice by the women at nights or in the morning after meals time. This could be, only when there was surplus left over in those houses. The representatives do not like this practice, and do not want to avail themselves of this source. To make up for this and considering the rise in prices of other items of necessities, the wages must be increased also.

In the towns, their main grievance is that they were not able to get houses for rent to live in, among the caste Hindu quarters and that they were evicted under some pretext, when the landlords come to know of their professions. They also complained that they had to pay heavy sums to get shops and for running the saloons in the busy localities and also have to pay high rent.

As regards elementary education, the community seems to avail themselves of the opportunity of free education and mid-day meals. It is represented that after the age of 10, the children are diverted to get training in the profession due to economic conditions and that they are not able to send the children for high school or colleges. This is mostly true in villages and to some extent in towns where child labour is utilised.

As regards college education, the progress is slow. In Kanyakumari district it was stated there were only 16 graduates. In Tirunelveli it was stated that in the entire State there are only 3 gazetted, i.e. 1 District Judge, 2 Doctors and 20 non-gazetted officers. In South Arcot district it was stated that in the entire State there are 50 graduates, 5 engineers, 10 doctors, 5 B.Ts. and about 50 trained teachers. Allowing a margin, considering the population, the figures are too low. But from the particulars of scholarship, it is seen that 192 residential and 320 non-residential Post-Matric scholarships and 52 in professional courses are given in 1969-70.

Regarding professional education, some members of this community have been practising Siddha medicine for generations. Even now, there are a large number of registered Indian medical practitioners who are attending the poor. They seek special preference for admission to the College of Indigenous Medicines at Palayamkottai. The womenfolk have all along been acting as midwives in villages and some help should be given to them for training as ayahs and midwives.

Complaints was voiced against differential treatment to barbers in temples for ceremonial hair removal. The central Association at Madras has represented that in Palani they are given 70 paise for

shaving per head, in Alagar temple 24 paise, in Tirupparankundram 12 paise, 50 per cent in Vellimalai and in Thiruvannamalai 6 paise, out of 4 annas collected from each pilgrim. The Religious Endowment Department may be requested to bring about uniformity as far as possible. Similarly, living wages should be paid for the service of musician in temples.

In cities and towns there are a large number of saloons. In Erode it was said that the owner was getting Rs. 12/- per day and that he has two men working under him who were paid one half of their earnings as daily wages. In Ramnad it was said that the daily earnings was Rs. 6/- to 8/- but not much to save. In Salem town it was represented that they had about 1,300 saloons. Due to competition, it may be that all are not prosperous. The experiment of financing saloons through the Co-operative measures too has not been a success. This requires looking into.

#### General:

In addition to the general recommendations regarding Most Backward Classes, we make the following specific recommendations for this caste:

1. For professional courses, this community should be given special preference in the college of indigenous medicines at Palayamkottai. A diploma course in hair-dressing may be instituted to train those who will cater to the needs of the upper class and thereby improve their own status.

2. For formation of co-operative societies, the minimum number may be reduced from 100 to 50. The amount of loans for starting saloons may be fixed at Rs. 1,000/- in towns and Rs. 500/- in Town Panchayats area. Such societies may be formed giving preference to Ceylon repatriates.

3. Implements of good standard quality may be obtained wholesale and then distributed to individuals.

4. In respect of mechanical instruments in North Arcot it was represented that for a band set, 9 instruments are required and that loans may be granted for purchase of such instruments.

5. In view of that that the womenfolk of this community traditionally have experience in midwifery, it is recommended that candidates from this community should be given special preference in the selection of Maternity Assistants and Auxillary Nurse Midwives.

This community also appealed that they should be treated as a Scheduled Caste. We referred to other States for information. Nowhere are barbers treated as a Scheduled Caste, so we cannot push this matter.

#### MOUNDADAN CHETTY:

Item No. 85 Moundadan Chetty in Annexure D of the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 31 Moundadan Chetty in Annexure E of the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

This is a small community of nearly 2,800 strong, mostly living in 6 villages in the Gudalur taluk in the Nilgiris district. They speak a colloquial Kanarese dialect. This community appears to have hailed from Wynad with 70 per cent of this community engaged in agricultural operations. Literacy in English is only 2 per cent. Literacy in the local language is about 5 per cent. Only recently in 1967 this community appears to have been included in the Most Backward list and Backward list, and may remain.

MUTHURACHA or MUTHURAJA AND MUTTIRIYAN or MUTHIRIYAR:

Item No. 90 and 91 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

MUTRACHA AND MUTTIRIYAN:

Item No. 89 and 90 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification No. I (1969-70) of the Department of Backward Classes.

When the Grant-in-Aid Code was revised in 1913, the terms Muthuracha and Muttiriyans were included. In 1953, the terms Muthuracha and Muthiriyar were added to the Madras Educational Rules list as they were found to be variants of Muthuraja and Muttiriyar. It is generally assumed that all these four different names, namely, Muthuraja, Muthracha, Muttiriyar and Muthiriyar refer to the same community. Etymologically also this presumption seems to be correct. The Muthuraja Mahajana Sangam of Trichy used the term Muthiriyar (முத்திரியர்) as synonymous with Muthuraja and Mutracha. They claim kinship and descent from the Muthiriyar generals and chieftains of the Chola days. The pamphlet issued by the Muthuraja Mahajana Sangam in 1964 claimed Trichy, Tanjavur, and Pudukkottai as homeland of the ancient Muttiriyans. According to the historical claims of this community, they are a Tamil fighting caste. But, Thurston treats Muthracha as a Telugu caste. He quotes Stewarts, Madras Census Report of 1921, wherein it is mentioned that this is a Telugu caste most numerous in the Krishna, Nellore and Cuddapah districts. They were hunters, fishermen, bearers, palanquin bearers and hereditary watchmen in villages in Nellore district.

Thurston also says that Muttiriyar is simply a Tamil form of Muthuraja and is a sub-division of Ambalakaran. All these Census writers assigned Muthuraja community a low social status. In the 1931 Census, it is mentioned that the Ambalakaran seems to be very closely connected, if not identical with the Muttiriyar (Telugu Muthuraja) who have been classified as village watchmen. It is also mentioned that Muttiriyar and Muthuraja form the more numerous section.

All these Census writers seem to be sceptic about establishing the identity of these communities and their inter-relationship. But, it is surprising, nevertheless, that in all these Census Reports, Muthuracha & Muthiriyans are separately recorded, which might not have been the case, if they were the same caste. Even if they were of the common stock, the sub-division must have been strong enough to give them separate social identity. The total population in 1921 of Muttiriyar was 1,00,324 and that of Muthuraja was 2,27,536.

The population of Muthuraja and Muttiriyar appears now to be concentrated in Trichy and Thanjavur districts. If Muthuraja was originally a Telugu caste, they appear to have merged with the Tamils very completely as the present day Muttiriyar claims to a Tamil

caste descended from the Muttiriyans of Chola history.

Details of the distribution of population of the Muthuraja and Muttiriyar are given below. The Commission received written Memoranda from several associations and individuals in Trichy, Pudukkottai, North Arcot, South Arcot, Thanjavur and Coimbatore districts. One thing is clear. That in practice, there is no difference between Muthuraja and Muttiriyar. The representations also claimed that Ambalakaran, Valayan, Pujari, Servai, Ambalan, Gounder, Kavalkaran and even Vanniyas denotes the same caste, and have desired that Muthuraja should be accepted as a common description for this community covering all these denominations. They also claim a population of 50 lakhs. They also claim that they should be included in the list of Most Backward Classes. It is claimed that they are mainly rural community and their occupation is cutting and selling firewood, paddy cultivation and cooly labour. They also serve as village headmen or Thalaiyaries.

In one of the representations, while claiming that the several castes or subcastes mentioned above belong to the common fold of Muthuraja, in the same breath they also claim that there are no sub-divisions. In their major representation presented on behalf of the Central Association they have stated that they take to any small occupation including mat weaving, coir making, fibre extracting, Choonamb or lime-making etc.

In Trichy town a large number of them have taken to imitation, semi-precious stone cutting and polishing. In certain areas small land-lords are to be found in Trichy district. According to them their educational advance is negligible. They claim only 50 Graduates, 10 Engineers, 5 Doctors, 1 Veterinary Surgeons and 2 Agricultural Graduates. Most of their educated young men are in small jobs and there is no Gazetted Officer. It must, however, be mentioned that the community has produced a District Judge, who retired recently. They complain that they get no recognition at all in the major Government and Public Sector establishments, in Trichy district, they would like encouragements to be given for starting stone masonry work, mat weaving, imitation stone cutting and polishing, etc. There is no doubt that the community's educational advance and participation in Government services is very meagre compared to their population.

Mention must be made here of the claim made on behalf of Muthuraja and Muttiriyar community that the Valaiyans, listed in the list of Most Backward Classes are also a part of their caste. The population of Valaiyan is very much bigger than that of the Muttiriyar and Muthuraja put together and the Valaiyans are largely in Madurai and Ramnad districts; though they have spread out to Tanjavur and Coimbatore as well. Those who appeared before us representing Valaiyans in Madurai did not press their kinship with the Muthurajas. Our general impression as supported by whatever evidence we have been able to collect is that the Valaiyans are evidently more backward than the people who call themselves to be Muttiriyans and the Muthiriyas present claim to identity with the former may largely be due to their desire to be classified as Most Backward Class like the Valaiyah.

There is a considerable difference in the habit of the population as well. While the Muttiriyans and Muthurajas are preponderant in Trichy and Thanjavur districts, the Valaiyans are in large numbers in Madurai and Ramnad districts. In the absence of any further evidence and extensive socio-economic research, it will not be proper to combine the Muthuraja group and Valaiyan, Ambalakaran group. However, there is no need for different enumeration for the Muthuraja group. Muthiriyar and Muthurajah are same. The richer section of Muthiriar adopted Muthurajah. It is different from Muthuracha (Telugu) in Krishna Nellore and Cuddapah districts. They are mostly cultivators, small landowners and agricultural labour. In Trichi and Tanjore plantain cultivation is mostly in their hands. The Association is running a High School in the town. They are just taking up to education. Economically they are much better than Valaiyans.

All the State list may have one common entry including Muthuracha, Muthuraja, Muttiriyar and Muthiriyar with the main head Muthuraja.

#### ESTIMATED POPULATION FOR 1971

District	Caste		
	Muthuracha	Muttiriyar	Valaiyan
1. Madras	985	1,285	--
2. Chingleput	41,786	35,640	--
3. North Arcot	22,322	26,840	--
4. South Arcot	--	19,239	--
5. Salem	--	--	--
6. Coimbatore	--	--	25,682
7. Nilgiris	--	--	--
8. Madurai	--	--	<b>1,62,326</b>
9. Trichy	98,966	85,506	1,34,185
10. Thanjavur	--	14,113	1,62,667
11. Ramanathapuram	--	--	1,48,118
12. Tirunelveli	--	--	--
13. Kanyakumari	--	--	--
Total	1,64,059	1,82,623	6,33,478

#### NAGARAM:

Item No. 91 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 92 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Representation was received in the form of replies to the questionnaire from one Thiru Sivathirukkaivel, Tahsildar, No. 8, Karur Main Road, Kulithalai. He maintains that Nagaram refers to the Arya Vysia throughout the State and the statistical data given in the replies to the questionnaire relate to the socio-economic conditions of the Arya Vysia people whose population is estimated at 5 lakhs in the representation. In this connection it should be said that Arya Vysia caste has made representations in a detailed way separately



to the Commission wherein no mention has been made about the kinship with 'Nagaram'. Therefore it sounds strange that Nagaram is equated with Arya Vysia.

Similarly Nagaram should not be confused with 'Nagarathar'. Nagarathu Chettiars have made representations separately to the Commission for including the caste Nagarathar in the list of Backward Classes and no claim is made by them of the entry Nagaram in the list. It is verified by the Commission from the records available that scholarships are being availed of by children whose caste name is given as Nagaram. During the last three years 1967-1970 a total amount of Rs. 57,643/- has been disbursed as scholarships to this caste people.

The entry Nagaram was included in the list as early 1927 passed on the recommendation of the President, District Educational Board, Visakapatnam to treat this caste as Backward Community. It is seen from the representation that the population of the caste confined to Visakapatnam district was 15,388. It was described that these people are a sub-section of Papu who by virtue of their concentration in towns are called as "Nagaralu" or "Nagaram". Therefore, Nagaram or Nagarathar is a Telugu speaking caste confined only to Visakapatnam district and the intention of the Government was to help **only** these people. Evidently this is a clear case of some people falsifying their caste name in order to avail Government concessions.

#### NARIKURAVA AND NAKKALE:

##### NARIKKURAVA:

Item No. 34 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 165 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

##### NAKKALE:

Item No. 92 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 93 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Narikkuravas and Nakkale refer to the same semi-nomadic and vagrant people found throughout the State and in other parts of India too. Catching birds and hunting small games is their sole occupation. Making needles and beads and selling them is a subsidiary occupations for them. No proper representations has been received from them. But in Arur some of them came and represented before the Commission.

Narikurava should legitimately be treated as a Scheduled Tribe. But their plight does not seem to have drawn the attention of either the Centre or the State Government. The UNESCO Seminar recently held in Madras urged that a special study of this Tribe should be undertaken. They have not even settled down yet; they move about from place to place pitching tents wherever they like. Their habits are unclean, but look a healthy lot. Their representatives wanted housing colonies to be constructed for them to settle down. When the

Chairman mentioned to them the prevailing complaint that they refuse to settle down in one or two colonies provided for them, they said it was not true.

They speak a dialect of their own which is a mixture of Marathi and other languages without any script. Literacy standard is practically nil. No proper estimate of their size could be made. According to Collectors' reports they number about 1,673 for the whole State. This is a gross under-estimation and their size would be not in any way less than 20,000. Unless a special rehabilitation scheme is undertaken for them, there will not be any material change in their socio-economic conditions which are really pathetic. This is a fit case for inclusion in the Scheduled Tribes list which must be taken up with the Government of India. Till it is officially recognised, they may continue in the Backward Classes list, and the entry 'Nakkale' which is superfluous can be deleted.

#### ODDA AND BOYA:

Item No. 95, Oddan (Donga) and Item No. 96, Odda (Vedde or Vadde Veddai) in Annexure-D of the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 37, Oddar, Odde, Vadde, Vaddai, Vedde in Annexure-E of the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 96, Odden (Donga) and Odde (Vodde or Vadde or Voddai) in Annexure-II of the list of Backward Classes in Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item No. 22, Oddans in Kanyakumari and Shencottah taluk of the Tirunelveli district in Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item No. 42, Oddars, (Thanjavur, Tiruchy and Madurai) in Annexure-C in the list of Denotified Tribes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 15, Boya in Annexure A in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 8, Boya in Annexure B in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 6, Boya in Annexure C in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes (Tiruchy, the Nilgiris, Salem and Dharmapuri).

Item No. 16, Boya in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

There are several entries under Odda and under Boya in the lists of Backward Classes. The distinction between Odda and Boya appears to have arisen from the distinct enumeration in the 1921 Census where for the entire State 2,56,000 have been enumerated under Odda and Boya 19,423. Their present population would be under 5 lakhs. Oddar, Odde, Vaddi, Vaddai, Vedde appear only to be different pronunciations and spelling of the same word. Donga is also a sub-section

and there are some who claim that Boyas belong to an altogether different race and are not homogenous with the Oddas. But all their representatives including their Sangams claimed that there is no distinction between the Oddas and Boyas. One of the leaders stated perhaps with considerable justification that Odda is the caste name and Boya is the title taken by some of the prominent Odda families. It is also said Donga is the name of Oddas in some parts of Salem district and that Upparavas are also Oddars. One of the leaders, Krishnaswamy Chettiar stated at Salem on behalf of the community that Boya will be the more acceptable term. There are several branches amongst them-Betha Odda, Suramari-Oddars, Kal Oddars, Man Oddars etc. These appear to be occupational distinctions. Their main concentration is in Coimbatore, Salem and Dharmapuri districts. There are Oddas in North Arcot, South Arcot, Thanjavur and in Chingleput district also. All of them speak Telugu. They claim that in Mysore their caste is regarded as a Scheduled Tribe and made a similar claim here as well. These are settled people living in large numbers spread over in several districts and cannot be possibly regarded as a Tribe, even though in view of their occupation there are many Odda villages in the mountainous areas and on foot-hills.

We received representations from this community at Madras, Vellore, Polur in North Arcot district, Coimbatore, Salem and Dharmapuri and several other places. All their representations were on similar lines. There is no doubt about their low social standing as in Salem, Kaveripatnam, Dharmapuri and Krishnagiri and in other places these people do municipal scavenging work as well. In very many places they rear pigs and ownership of a large number of pigs is regarded as a mark of affluence. It is because of pig rearing and scavenging occupation, they urged their claim for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Castes if not of Scheduled Tribes. Though they were not regarded as completely untouchable, they complained that the rest of the society still treat them as if they are of a lower social order. Their main occupation is cutting stones, digging wells, digging earth and construction connected with road laying, bank bund making etc. In view of the arduous work their wages are not bad, by very many of them do not get more than 15 to 20 days work in a month. Again in view of their heavy manual work and the places in which such work have to be carried on, they spend most of their money on food and they have not yet bestowed any attention to improve their standard of living or to educate their children. From the point of view of education, their achievement is the lowest among the Most Backward Communities. The practice of sending children to elementary schools hardly exists amongst them except perhaps in the town areas. The number reaching S.S.L.C. standard for a population of several lakhs is still appallingly poor. They have not produced very many graduates or Engineers or Doctors. The few rich families amongst them have tried to bring about a certain amount of social reform and educational improvement but without much success.

Since large sections of them were declared Criminal Tribes, it is obvious that some years ago many of them did take to criminal ways of life. It is perhaps poverty and unemployment might have driven them even to scavenging as their occupation. The only work with which they are familiar and for which they are organised is road construction work and stone cutting and earth work of allied nature. Everywhere they have requested that minor contracts for such work should be given to them without insisting on heavy security deposits,

A few labour co-operatives were also recognised for this community and they appear to be working satisfactorily. Perhaps labour-co-operatives could be organised in more centres and more and more people may be brought under the co-operative movement. But what is more essential is that some diversification of occupation is necessary to get them away from this kind of heavy manual work for which competition from machinery is inevitable in course of time. Benefits of elementary education should be extended to them by adopting some compulsive measures. Some rehabilitation schemes will have to be formulated for this purpose. Unless education at least of the lower level is spread amongst the younger generation, this community will continue to remain as one of the most depressed among the Backward Classes.

They also complained that in view of different spellings and pronounciations adopted for the same caste, difficulties are experienced in obtaining proper certificates for scholarships and admission purposes. Their general preference seems to be for the word 'Oddar with Boya' as an alternative. All the existing entries may be replaced by one entry, Oddar (Boyar).

#### PANNAYAR:

Item No. 105 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 106 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Numerically the Pannayar caste is one of the smallest in the State. They were known in the past as 'Alavar' (அலவர்) or 'Uppalavar', since traditionally the caste as a whole happened to work in 'alams' or salt pans. With economic changes, when salt manufacture became a profitable business proposition, these people have lost this lucrative occupation and continue to work in salt factories as coolies.

The 'Pannaiyar Mahajana Sangam', Nagercoil replied to the questionnaire and tendered oral evidences before the Commission in Tirunelveli. They say that their population approximately would be 10,000. In 1921 Census they have been returned as 'Alavan' numbering 1,201. So a population of 3,000 would be a reasonable estimate for 1971. They live mainly in Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram and Kanyakumari districts with some concentration in Tuticorin area.

Occupationally most of them are employed as workers in salt quarries, and construction work. Some have taken to tailoring. Children and women also are employed as coolies. Educationally they claim to be very backward and that there are only 5 graduates and no Engineers and Doctors from the community. Literacy percentage is stated to be only 10 per cent among them. They plead for inclusion of their caste under Most Backward Classes which seems reasonable.

#### PANAN:

Item No. 10 in the list of Scheduled Castes in Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk in the Notification of the Harijan Welfare Department.

This caste is not mentioned in the Tamil Nadu list of Backward Classes or Scheduled Castes. This is a small community found in the extreme South of Tamil Nadu. Perhaps their original home might have been the Kanyakumari district and neighbouring Tirunelveli district. Their traditional occupation has been mattress making and tailoring. The Commission received only one representation from a community styling itself as Pandia Vellala and they admitted that they are actually Panans. Though Pandia Vellala if they want to stick to the pretention of being Vellala the Commission cannot recommend any relief, but if there are Panans declaring themselves to be Panans then there is a justification for including them in the list of Backward Classes. Apparently their number must be very small and they are on a par generally with the several temple service communities we have socially and economically.

The old Travancore Government and the Travancore-Cochin Government were very liberal in according Scheduled Castes status to a number of castes of low social status. The reason for this was that in Malabar the untouchability line was drawn just below the Nayars who occupy in Kerala the position almost analogous to the Vallalas in Tamil Nadu; As the untouchability was ascribed to all Hindu Sudra castes below Nayars, the lower among these castes were included in the list of Scheduled Castes. The convention in Tamil Nadu has not been similar and the untouchability line was drawn very much lower down in the social scale. So the simple fact that a particular caste is listed in the Schedule in Kanyakumari district is no justification for according the same status here. This caste, viz, Panan, may be included in the list of Most Backward Classes.

#### PARKAVAKULAM:

Item No. 107 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 107 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

The 1921 Census enumerates Nathaman, Malayaman and Suruthiman separately and the total population then was 2,61,915 and projected the present population will be roughly 4.8 lakhs. The main concentration of this caste is in Thanjavur district, though we see them in North Arcot, South Arcot, Salem and Coimbatore districts also. They come under different titles, Mooppanar and Udayar being the more common. Some had adopted Pillai, Gounder and Mudaliar titles also. Though the stronghold of this community is in Thanjavur where some very big landlords are, we had very little response from the representatives of this community in this district inspite of our endeavour to get hold of some representative persons. Even in other districts they came in as reluctant witnesses. We received only 12 written representations and even these did not reply to the questionnaire, in the proper manner. Most of our information had to be elicited from the witnesses whom we tried to secure in various places. From all accounts there are three sub-sections under Parkavakulam. (Incidentally the entry in the list is wrongly spelt as Parakavakulam). The sub-sects known as Malayaman, Nathaman and Suruthiman are corruptions of Malayaman and Suruthiman. Though all these people take the generic description, Parkavakulam, the people belonging to Suruthiman division according to their representative, Mr. R. Ramaswamy Mooppanar, President, Sudaraperumal Koil Panchayat,

Kumbakonam taluk, Thanjavur district, is a separate entity and has nothing to do with the others, calling themselves Nainars. He particularly objected to the description in the Madras Educational Rules where Moopanar and Nainar are put together. It must, however, be said that the Parkavakula representatives belonging to the other sects in other districts did not adopt such an exclusive attitude. There are Nathaman Udayars in Thanjavur district and Malayaman people in South Arcot and Salem districts. The Nathaman Udayars are supposed to be settled in about 31 villages in Arantangi taluk accounting for a population of about 10,000. The only written representation aiming to reply to some of the questions, came from Palanivel Moopanar of Ariyalur, Tiruchirapalli district. He did not try to establish the exclusiveness from any of the particular sect. From the various evidences we were able to gather the Nathamans are generally known as Udayar and Nainar; the Malayaman as Udayar and Suruthiman especially in Thanjavur as Moopanar. The students from this community appear to have experienced difficulties because they are accustomed to describe their caste name in the certificates as Udayar or Moopanar and obviously difficulties had arisen in getting caste certificates from Government officers. Their main burden of the request in many places was that there should be a proper clarification about the name of the caste and its titles. In view of the prevailing complexity and of the use of the titles, Udayar and Moopanar by a large number of other communities and of the adoption by this community itself of titles like Pillai and Gounder, in their own interest they should conform to the names in the list and obviously Moopanar and Nainar will have to be deleted so that only the names of the three main sects appear.

Regarding their economic condition, there is perhaps a larger sprinkling of landholding families among the Suruthiman-Moopanars of Thanjavur. In addition to a number of fairly wealthy landlords in other districts also, they are a predominantly agricultural caste, but slightly more prosperous than the purely cultivating castes. This is reflected by the comparatively smaller number of agricultural labourers and coolies and the larger number of small landholders and tenant farmers. Their pretention to a higher social status is evident from the fact that whereas in Salem these people eat meat, the Moopanars of Thanjavur claim to be largely vegetarians. In some places, as for example Thiagadurgam, South Arcot district, even the small landholders think it below their dignity to do agricultural manual labour. Wherever they are they appear to be exercising a certain amount of influence in local politics. Their representatives, who met us at Salem, admitted that there is a certain amount of inter-mixing between the Nathamans and Malayamans and in recent years very many have taken to other occupations also. The Parkavakulam representatives who met us in Pudukhatram in Salem admitted that 50 per cent of their people are owning lands from 1 to 4 acres and about 20 per cent of them have their own pump sets, though a large number are working as agricultural labourers as well.

From all accounts this is a comparatively prosperous agricultural community with a larger percentage of landholding gentry, having pretention to higher social status. Though their economic condition is good and they have a fair amount of local influence, they have not made equally adequate progress in education or in Government employment.

The entry should be re-worded as Parkavakulam (Suruthiman, Malayaman and Nathaman),

PARVATHARAJAKULAM:

Item No. 40 in the list of Most Backward Classes (**Parvatharajakulam Pattanavan, Sembadavan**) in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes,

Item No. 109-Pattanavan and 123-Parvatharajakulam in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission .

Fishermen are classified under two heads. The coastal fishermen known as 'Pattanavans' included as Backward in 1903, and the inland fishermen known as 'Sembadavans', included in 1913. In 1947 'Sembadavars' were described as 'Parvatharajakulam',

In the lists, Parvatharajakulam (Pattanavan, Sembadavans), 'Paravans' and 'Sivians' (Coimbatore) are classified as Most Backward. They, along with Sivians in other districts, are in the Backward Classes list. In Kanyakumari district, 'Bharathars' are classified as Scheduled Caste; Mukuvass, Paravan Christians are Backward Classes. The Director of Fisheries stated that a large number of fishing communities are not in any of these lists. It was pointed out that the lists related to castes and that others who do fishing would not become fishermen by caste. In Salem, it has been ascertained that Padayachis, Labbais and Valayans do fishing as a profession in some areas.

The State Paravatharajakula Sangam registered in 1931 and having its office at Madras claims the population as 50 lakhs. The Census figures as projected in 1971 is 1,05,912 for Sembadavans. The Director of Fisheries has stated that the total population is 3.43 lakhs, of which coastal fishermen are 2.53 lakhs and the inland fishermen 0.90 lakhs. Among the coastal fishermen, there are 72,000 in Kanyakumari, 51,000 in Madras and Chingleput, 48,000 in Thanjavur, 32,000 each in Tirunelveli and Ramnad and 16,000 in South Arcot. Mostly **they** live in Kuppams adjoining the sea-coast.

The coastal fishermen do fishing throughout the year, except in inclement weather, when the sea is rough. In Tuticorin about 2,000 are engaged as boatmen in country crafts and as crew in sailing vessels. They have no subsidiary occupations. Their women-folk take the fishes for sale in the markets, in some cases at a distance of several miles.

The inland fishermen are distributed all over, mainly where there are rivers and big tanks in kuppams or in groups in one street or locality in villages and towns. Inland fishermen represent that they are engaged in fishing only for 3 to 6 months in a year and to supplement their income they are engaged in weaving, agriculture, petty trades, trade in dried fish etc. This diversification for the traditional occupations is noticed in many places. In Edappadi village in Salem district, there are more than 1,000 people of this caste and it is stated that 90 per cent are engaged in weaving only. In Salem it was represented that there were 15,000 in that village engaged in that work. It was also stated that in another village in that district the major portion was engaged in agriculture and plantain gardens. In Kambakonam it is stated that a good number of fishermen are engaged in converting paddy into boiled rice. In Pudukkottai, during the off-season they are engaged

in agriculture and coir-making. In Coimbatore, Bestha Siviari stated that during summer they used to raise cucumber, in the tank-beds to supplement their income. In Chingleput fishermen work as tailors, tinkers, and petty shop-keepers.

The coastal fishermen have several organisations in Kanyakumari, Tirunelveli and Tutocorin. Some member of the community who are rich are trying to help the majority who are poor. The inland fishermen are more organised and have a Parvatharajakulam Inland Fishermen Sangam working for the last 50 years and now having its head office at Madras in a building of their own worth Rs.30,000/-. The printed report states that it was registered in 1931 and has 400 branches. About its achievements, it has conducted 31 State conferences. In Edappadi a Kalyana Mandapam at a cost of 2 lakhs and another at Kumbakonam at a cost of Rs.50,000/- have been built.

#### EDUCATION:

Special mention has to be made of the school started in 1946 and run by the Sangam now as a high school in Kattumannarkoil. It has a boarding strength of 396 boys, of which 269 belong to fishermen castes from different places. The general atmosphere, the discipline and other feature impressed us and it would serve as a model for a residential school. In cannot however be said that either the inland fishermen or coastal fishermen children have taken to school education in adequate measure. The position is worse amongst coastal fishermen.

As regards professional education, the Director has stated that the Government is running 6 training centres for marine fishing for training boys in the operation and maintenance of mechanical boats on scientific lines. The period of training is for 10 months and they are given a stipend of Rs.50/-. So far, they have trained more than 1,800 boys. So also there is one training centre for inland fisheries in which 357 have been trained. 119 have been trained as Junior Mechanics for the maintenance and service of marine engines. In Salem it was stated that out of 3 who got training, only one was in Government service. Now that mechanised boats are increasing, there is scope for employment even outside to such trainees.

A suggestion was made that boys from these castes should take to the Navy and also in merchant ships. Further propaganda is necessary to make the boys take to sea service which offers much scope for employment.

#### ECONOMIC:

In this connection mention has to be made of an Indo-Belgian Fisheries Project at Muttam in Kanyakumari district, started in 1968. By that, catamarans are being mechanised by being fitted with outboard engines. Foreign personnel are directing the project in collaboration with the Tamil Nadu Government. In spite of difficulties in importing the engines and spare parts, it is working and it will take some more months to appraise the full progress. It is stated that such engines could be manufactured in India and considering the cost, it will be a workable scheme to benefit the bulk.



The Government of Tamil Nadu has a socio-economic scheme for fishermen. There are 4 boat-building yards; two at Madras, one at Nagapatnam and one at Mandapam. Boats of sizes 25' and 30' are being constructed and fitted with motors. The cost is between Rs.50,000 and 75,000/-. The Government is giving a subsidy of a fair percentage of the cost and the balance has to be paid in 60 instalments in the course of 7 years. There is a great demand for these mechanised boats. In Mandapam two persons complained that they applied long ago and they have not got them. The Director stated that upto 1969, 841 boats have been supplied and provision has made in the IV plan for making about 1,000 boats. They were being supplied to groups of 2 or 3 fishermen only, and it was not a success when allotted to co-operative societies. These mechanised boats have to fish beyond three miles from the shore, and that strip is for those who fish with Katamarams.

There are about 460 co-operative societies, and personal loans are being sanctioned to members, and the societies are granted loans up to Rs.5,000/- for starting fair-price shops and for working capital, repayable in 10 years. The Government grants loan for construction of godowns with a subsidy of Rs.2,000/-. During the last 10 years, 40 godowns have been constructed. The Government has constructed 26 community halls costing between Rs.20 to 25,000/- each.

As regards housing, loans of Rs.1,000/- were granted for building houses, where the fishermen own unencumbered house-sites, 75 per cent as subsidy and 25 per cent repayable in 5 years. It appears that the loan amount was not sufficient for constructing a house and in Chingleput they want it to be raised to Rs. 5,000/-.

The fishermen live mostly in kuppams whether in the sea-coast or even in the interior. So they do not have sufficient opportunities of freely mixing with other communities. It is also represented that as they are spread out all along the coast, they are not sufficiently strong in numbers to assert in politics. But they have a very strong representative in M. Vedachalam, M.L.A. of their community, who is the President of the Madras Fishermen Federation. A request was made that as in the other States fishermen are in the list of Scheduled Castes, they should be similarly treated in Tamil Nadu as well. Except in Assam they are not treated as a Scheduled Caste anywhere else and in Kerala only some sections are so treated. It is, therefore, futile to pursue this matter further.

#### GENERAL DEMANDS:

The inland fishermen want that the rivers, tanks and other water resources should be leased only to the fishermen co-operative societies on reasonable value to be fixed without detriment to the financial resources of the Panchayat. This may also be applied to the lease of the fish market, which is essential in every town in the interest of public health and sanitation.

They want proportional representation in admission to colleges and technical institutions and in services. This view is put forth by several other communities also. The representatives from Madras wanted that the fishermen should not be grouped with other Backward Classes with larger strength and they should have a separate

Commission for themselves. As supplementary to this profession, suggestions were made for some provision to have spinning, weaving, net-making, coir rope-making, fish-freezing, fish curing, fish-meal and boat-repairs.

In South Arcot, in Tirukoilur the fish market was demolished and they wanted a new one to be built near the other markets. In Parangipettai, it was said that it is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the main road, that a bridge across a channel and the connecting road would enable them to take the fish to Chidambaram and get a fair price.

At Nagapatnam they wanted mobile health units to serve each kuppam, roads connecting with main road and hostels near the coast. In Seruthur near Velanganni, they want a road of 3 miles to reach the main road.

In Kumbakonam they wanted loans for their subsidiary trade in converting paddy into boiled rice. At the Thanjavur conference held in March 1970, they want 20 per cent reservation for education and services as for Scheduled Castes, developments of inland fisheries to rear new varieties and experienced fishermen to be appointed in the Advisory Committee.

They have objected to the letting into Wykondan Channel the industrial waste from the Tiruchi distilleries which contaminates the water causing the death of the fishes and disease to cattle. So also they have objected to the use of guns with dynamite to kill the fishes which pollutes the water.

In Kanyakumari district, they wanted a protection wall in Eraniel harbour connecting roads, provision of drinking water to Poonthurai and Eraniel.

At Mandapam they wanted to expedite the allotment of mechanical boats applied for, the loan to be repayable in 10 years. They also wanted the dry dock for repairs as there were about 100 mechanised boats in that area.

#### REDDI (GANJAM):

Item No. 120 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 118 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

There is no enumeration either of Reddis or of Ganjam Reddis in 1921 Census. Obviously they have been included in the generic caste name 'Kapu'. In the Tamil districts, 'Kapu' are found almost everywhere, though they are concentrated in a few districts more than in others—vide statistics at the end. The Commission received only one written representation from the Kallikudi Reddi Mahajana Sangam, Tirupparangundram, Madurai. Even that representation did not contain proper replies to the questionnaire. It described only the difficulties their students experience in obtaining caste certificates and ended up with the request that

the Reddi community people residing in Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts should be declared by the Government as belonging to Reddi (Ganjam) community so that they become automatically entitled to scholarships without production of any proof. This request was made to the Government also in 1969.

Reddis of Ganjam district were included in the list of Backward Classes in G.O.Ms.No.333, Law and Education, dt.10-3-1925. The circumstances that led to the issue of this order make it very clear that it was intended to benefit only a particular class of Reddis residing in Ganjam, which was then a part of the Composite Madras Presidency and not to Reddis in any other districts, either in Tamil parts of the State or otherwise. It must be observed that even in 1921 as was stated above, there were Reddis in Tamil districts and there was no specific order of Government extending this concession to all the Reddis or to such of those Reddis as might have migrated from Ganjam. We were not able to trace any records about subsequent vicissitude of this entry. In their order No.Ms.321, I.L.C., dt.5-10-57, Government laid down that the students belong to Reddi communities of 'Ganjam' and 'Vishakapatnam' districts shall not be granted fresh scholarships from the Harijan Welfare Fund. Representations were subsequently received praying for cancellation of this order. The Kalelkar's Commission mentioned 'Ganjam Reddis' (Ramanathapuram, Madurai and Tirunelveli districts) in the list of Other Backward Classes, and on the basis of this, Government in G.O.Ms.No.1247, Home, dt.24-4-64, directed that with effect from the year 1964-65, members of the Ganjam Reddi community shall be eligible to have scholarships from the Harijan Welfare Fund. And the previous order of 1957 was cancelled. However, the entries in the various lists were not amplified to cover the three specified districts. The presumption, nevertheless, that the Reddis, who are entitled to the concessions, must have migrated from Ganjam, can be read into this order. Insistence on this has led to administrative difficulties. Though the number of applicants for scholarships is the highest even now from the Ramanathapuram district, Government concessions are availed of in almost all districts. It must in fairness be said that South Arcot district, where Reddis are a dominant caste, has not been responsible for any sizeable number of applications for scholarships of any kind.

Only two deputations met us to give oral evidence—one at Madurai from the aforesaid Mahajana Sangam and the other at Tirunelveli. Both these deputations admitted that they cannot prove they are 'Ganjam Reddis' and wanted all the Reddis to be given concessions. They also admitted that there is no subcaste among them and all of them are called Reddiars and there are no records to establish they are of 'Ganjam' origin. It is unfortunate that the representatives of this caste did not care to reply to our questionnaire in proper form. But, taking Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and Madurai districts, there is no dearth of education amongst them, and, by various tests we have applied to assess the progress, the Reddiars did not appear to be a Backward Community. Both on the grounds that these people are not of Ganjam origin and on general grounds, they have not made out a case for retention in the list of Backward Classes. In view of the history of this item, as there are no Ganjam Reddis, it is redundant to keep it in the list, thus keeping the way open for abuse, and causing inconvenience and administrative difficulties.

## REDDY (GANJAM) - SCHOLARSHIPS PARTICULARS 1969-70

Districts	Post Matric Resi- dential	Post Matric Non-Resi- dential	Profes- sional Resi- dential	Profes- sional Non-Resi- dential	Limited Scholar- ship
Madras	2	11	0	1	
Chingleput	-	1	-	-	
North Arcot	12	11	-	-	
South Arcot	-	32	-	32	
Thanjavur	6	5	6	-	
Tiruchy	22	35	-	-	
Madurai	85	74	26	15	
Ramanathapuram	314	519	-	-	
Tirunelveli	203	23	-	-	
Kanyakumari	-	-	-	-	
Salem	2	9	-	-	
Coimbatore	2	4	2	-	
Dharmapuri	-	-	-	-	
Nilgiris	-	-	-	-	(R) (NR)
Total	648	724	43	48	42 12

SALIYAR:

Item No. 123 "Saliyan (Padamasalai, Patusalai, Thogata Karmi-bhaktulu, Senapathulu, Sale, Sale, Karikalbhatulu), Pattariyar and Adaviyar" in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 121 Saliyan (Pattariar and Adaviyar) in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Saliyan are yet another caste of weaver found chiefly in the districts of Chingleput, Trichy, Thanjavur, Ramanathapuram, Madurai, and Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari. Thurston says Saliyar refers to Tamil speakers and 'Sale' refers to Telugu speakers. Apparently the class mentioned as 'Sale' in the 1921 Census refers to the Telugu speaking people. The majority are Telugu speakers and a small minority speak Kannad and Tamil according to the districts they have settled in. The people in the extreme south speak Tamil. The people in Kanyakumari are known as Malayam Sale. Their common titles are Moopapar, Chettiar. They claim a population of several lakhs. According to the 1921 Census their population was 61,000 and their present population might be about 1 lakh. This is perhaps the smallest of the professional weaving castes.

This community according to various witnesses might have migrated from Orissa and was originally known by the name Thugatta which appears under entry 123 of Backward Class list. Pattariyar and Adaviyar were branches of Thugatta. The people of this branch do not appear to be settled in any Tamil district according to our information.

The main branches to be found here are Padmasali and Pattusali, Padmasali apparently referred to the ancient weavers who spun silk out of lotus stem and fine fibres. Apparently they are considered to be superior.

Pattusali simply means silk weaver. Sali and Sala are synonymous terms for the weavers. Senapathlu is also a branch of Thugatta, though it is doubtful whether any of them are now in Tamil Nadu. It is likely that the weaving community found in some places of Chingleput and Salem districts by the name of Seniyar is not related to Senapathlu in item No. 123, though the term Sena refers to weaving in Oriya. The entry along with all its other names might have been inserted when a portion of Orissa formed part of the Composite Madras Presidency. The only two sections to be found here are Padmasali and Pattusali—they prefer to be called Saliyar.

Though in Kanyakumari district, they have not taken to any occupation other than weaving, in other districts, owing to the decline in the prosperity of handloom weaving some have taken to petty trade and some to manual work. They have not taken to agriculture.

A number of representations were received from Madurai, Ramathapuram, and Madras districts and oral evidences were also tendered at Kanchipuram, Madura, Madras, Mayavaram etc.

Though the community's name is associated with silk weaving, that is confined only to a few areas like Kornad and Kanchipuram. Except some Padma Saliars of Thanjavur district or Kanchipuram, the rest of the people suffer from all the evils of the weaving castes.

Regarding education they claim about 300 graduates, of whom 20 are Engineers, 5 are Doctors and they claim about 10 Gazetted Officers. Regarding Thanjavur district it was claimed that there are 22 graduates, 3 Doctors and 7 Engineers. Their progress in employment and education has not been very impressive.

The plight of the Handloom industry has affected them as it has other weaving communities but they are not worse off than the others. They, however, claim treatment as a Most Backward Class.

Various schemes of rehabilitation were suggested in their evidences—housing colonies, loan etc. and greater educational and employment facilities which are dealt with separately.

The entry in the list may be worded as: Saliyar (including Padma Saliar and Pattu Saliar) and all other descriptions may be deleted in both the lists.

#### SENAITHALAIVAR OR SENAIAKKUDAYAN:

Item No. 126 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 126 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

This is one of the smaller cultivating communities in Tamil Nadu. Their traditional occupation was cultivating the betel vine and selling betel leaves. Betel vine is used to be cultivated in almost all fertile areas. The profession was also popular and fairly prosperous till about 20 years ago when owing to the tremendous increase in the price of betel nuts (Supari *சுபரி*) the consumption of betel leaves began to decline. The cultivation was also partly affected by the pressure for the better class of lands for more profitable food and commercial crops. According to the representations made by the Tamil Nadu Senaithalaivar Mahajana Sangam and by other district bodies, the present population is estimated to be about 5 lakhs spread all over the districts excluding the Nilgiris. As 1921 and earlier Census Report did not treat this caste separately, but appears to have been included under Vaniars. This presumption is confined in a note occurring in the 1901 Census Report. Possibly as the caste was then popularly known as Ilai Vaniars, this mistaken enumeration might have occurred. The 1911 Census however includes Senaikkudayan among the minor castes, and the population was given as 18,827 males and 10,306 females making a total of roughly 38,000. On the basis of this figure, the present population should be of the order of 85,000 to 90,000. But it is generally felt by those who are familiar with the districts that this figure is a tremendous under-estimate. According to the information supplied by some District Welfare Officers and by cross-checking it from other sources, the present population may be of the order of 1 to 1½ lakhs. Their Mahajana Sangam however claimed that they have taken a rough census and have recorded nearly one lakh 'Thalaikattu' (*தலைகட்டு*), the 'Thalaikattu' meaning a small family unit and not the joint family. A married couple soon after marriage, even if living with the parental family form a separate 'Thalaikattu'. It is admitted that a sizable proportion of this population is in Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. Next in order of numerical strength may be Madurai, Salem and Thanjavur districts, though pockets are to be found in all the major villages and towns of the State. The ordinary titles used by the members of this caste are Mooppanar, Chettiar and Mudaliar. Some have adopted the non-descript title of Pillai as well.

From being betel vine cultivation, it is an easy transition for the community to garden cultivation of all kinds and to general farming. In recent years members of this caste have taken to handloom weaving, beedi rolling and masonry as well. A large number of them are employed as mill hands in textile factories. The representatives of the community claimed that while small land owners will not exceed 5% of the population and tenant farmers about 15%, the rest are in miscellaneous small occupations, including coolly labour. Many who still ~~had~~ betel farms do not own the land, but take it jointly on lease. A betel farm may be cultivated by a group of tenants.

If the figures supplied by the representatives are to be relied upon the progress of education of this community appears to be poor. This, however, appears to be at variant with the findings of the Census Report of 1921, and the conclusions of the then Madras Government (the Census Report of 1921 shows that the percentage of literacy

among the male population of the Senaikkudiyan community is 35.7 in vernacular and 2.14 in English. The corresponding percentage for the Presidency are 15 and 2.16 respectively. The standard of literacy in English attained by the community is a little above the Presidency average. It will be seen that the literacy of the community in vernacular seems to be fairly high. The Director of Public Instruction who noted his thought in 1926 that there was no case for including this caste in the list of Backward Classes, and the Member of Council mentioned that it was a border line case. However, it was included in the list of Backward Classes appended to the Madras Educational Rules.

For the State as a whole, the representations claim only 300 graduates, 15 Engineers, 20 Doctors and 25 Advocates. For the district of Madurai it is claimed there are only 30 Graduates and in their best district, i.e. Tirunelveli there are only 80 graduates, 3 Engineers, 3 Doctors. Most of their educated men are occupying only non-gazetted posts in Government Service and the number in gazetted posts and superior services is only a handful. It would appear from the oral and written evidences that though much general progress in literacy has not been achieved, some headway has been made in college education perhaps by the upper layer of the community. Their interest in education is obvious from the fact that the community has started students hostel in Palayamkottai and in Madras. These hostels have not been much of a success as residential scholarships were not awarded to the boys who are staying there. The progress in girls education is comparatively slow. The representatives of the caste, both in oral and written representations, have claimed that as they have no means of making any headway in obtaining employment in the private sector, they look to the Government alone for service.

As their population does not command numerical majority in any area, it has not been possible for them to get seats in Panchayats and Union Councils and Municipalities. Though owing to political party considerations two of their members are M.Ps., they have no M.L.A. They keenly feel that their backwardness is due to their inability to command political influence. Like other communities similarly placed, they urge that this community should also be classified as a Most Backward Class. They would also like to have rotational system of representation in public services and direct recruitment at different levels for the major Governmental departments.

It is significant that this community has shown a certain amount of virility in that it has been able to diversify its occupational pattern, notwithstanding various difficulties.

#### SHANAN, GRAMANI AND NADAR:

Item No. 128 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 157 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

The caste, 'Shanan', as it was originally known is reported to have its homeland in the palmyrah tracts of South Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. It is from here migration took place first to some urban areas now in Ramanathapuram and Madurai districts; and from thence to other rural and urban areas in all the southern districts. Shanans or Nadars are now found in fairly substantial numbers in Thanjavur and Coimbatore and sparsely populated almost in every other district. Numerically Tirunelveli still has the largest number. Gramani is the name by which the toddy-tapping people were and are known in Chingleput district. Whether it is a sub-caste or an allied caste has always been debated, though for census and other Government purposes the two were clubbed together. Nevertheless, there is not much of social homogeneity between the Gramanis of the Northern districts and the Nadars of the South. Economically the Nadars of Ramanathapuram and Madurai districts are very much better off than their caste brethren people of South Tirunelveli.

The caste appeared in 1913 in the list of Backward Classes. In earlier decades of this century, there was considerable social and economic progress in the community. By Sanskritisation and social ascription they tried to uplift their social status. From small beginnings as traders in jaggery and transporters of jaggery and palmyrah produce to marketing centres in Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram districts, a forward section of the community became a class of retail dealers and merchants with their business well established in all the smaller and bigger towns of the southern districts. There was considerable social awakening, and their Sangams began to take various measures to uplift the status of the community. One such step was a request made in 1917 to delete the entry relating to their caste from the list of Backward Classes. During the years that followed, the cleavage between the economically forward section and the comparatively backward section still practising their traditional occupation of tree-climbing, toddy-tapping and jaggery-making, was widening. The forward section which dominated the Sangam realised that removal of the community's name from the list of Backward Classes was a mistake, and in 1935 and again in 1940 the Sangam requested the Government for re-inclusion of the community's name in the list of Backward Classes. The Government's attitude was that once at their request the deletion has been made, it would not reconsider the decision. In 1952 the leaders of the community again made representations for inclusion of their caste in the list of Backward Classes. They also subsequently urged before the Kalelkar Commission that they should be included in the list of Depressed Classes. The main thesis of the representation was that socially they were still treated a low caste and that in spite of the prominence achieved in the economic sphere by a few, the majority of the people remain illiterate, economically poor and socially down-trodden. As a result of these endeavours, the Government of Madras in G.O.Ms.No.353, Industries, Labour and Co-operation, dated 31st January 1957, placed the Shanar community among the Backward Classes for educational concessions. As by this time most of the members of this community had taken to use the term 'Nadar' instead of the old traditional name of Shanar, difficulties were experienced in obtaining certificates from the Revenue officials when a student claimed that he was a Shanan.



The attitude adopted by the Government officials apparently was that the concession was admissible only to persons whose traditional occupation was toddy-tapping. In 1962 in G.O.Ms.No.182, Education, dated 24th January 1962, the Government reiterated that the concession was intended only to the children of those persons who had been actually toddy tappers until the introduction of total prohibition. The community actually felt a grievance, for perhaps this was a singular instance where the Government insisted upon the pursuit of the traditional occupation by an applicant for scholarships from a particular community. For other communities in the Backward Classes list, e.g. Barber, Kaikolan or Meenavan, there was no such insistence that the applicant's father or guardian should or should have followed the traditional occupation. Not only was this an invidious distinction prejudicial to this community, but it also revived reference to the traditional occupation of toddy-tapping from which the community was vigorously endeavouring to deviate as no other community in South India had done. If this insistence was adhered to, it would deprive children of small farmers, labourers and petty traders, whose income might as well be below the limit fixed by the Government from enjoying all the educational concessions simply on the ground that their parents were not toddy-tappers. In 1963 Government passed order - vide G.O.Ms.No.651, Education and Public Health, dated 3-4-1963, deleting Gramani and Shanani from the list of Most Backward Classes and ordering the present entry Shanani, Gramani and Nadar - Item No. 128 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes and item No.157 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

We received extensive representations from the Nadar community through their Sangams and their leaders in Madras, Kanyakumari, Tirunelveli, Madurai, Ramanathapuram and also another in other districts where they are sparsely populated.

There are two general issues raised by the community—

(a) No distinction should be made between the Hindu Nadars and Christian Nadars as there is considerable amount of social inter course between the two inspite of the difference in religion and both should be treated equally by the Government. This being a general question outside our terms of reference we do not propose to offer any comments on this except to observe that broadly speaking the Christian Nadars have a higher percentage of achievement upto S.S.L.C. standard, that they have contributed proportionately a larger number to the Government services and professions. The progress of the Hindu Nadars at the ordinary literacy level and the S.S.L.C. level might not be up to the Christian Nadar's standard. But in the field of higher education they have come up very well during the last two decades and from the figures of employment, prominence in professions, etc., available it can definitely be said that they compare very well with some of better placed among the backward communities.

(b) The other issue raised in their evidence is that 70% of their people are still tree climbers and toddy-tappers and therefore whatever progress the small affluent minority might have

made economically and educationally, should not prejudice the consideration which the down-trodden of the community deserves. The claim that 70% of the people are toddy tappers or tree climbers is clearly an exaggeration. The total population of this community in 1921 Census was 6.55 lakhs excluding the Kanyakumari district and the present population by projection would be roughly 12,00,000. As observed earlier, Tirunelveli had even in 1921 the largest concentration, viz., 2.58 lakhs. Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr. who has recently written a monograph on the Nadars of Tamil Nadu with the co-operation and materials supplied by the leading members of the Nadar community mentions in a footnote on page 53 gives the following information based on a survey undertaken in 1941:

"The survey reported that about 40% of the Nadars of Tirunelveli District are estimated to be engaged in tapping, but among Christian Nadars, tappers would form only about 20% since, as a result to education and development of trade with Ceylon, several families have given up this vocation' - Ponniah, Christian Community, pp.96.97".

Since, 1941, there could not have been a retrogression in the economic condition of the community - only progress. It must also be remembered that after prohibition, tapping was resorted to only for sweet toddy and for jaggery manufacture and it is well-known that this industry has not prospered very much, not with standing the efforts to form jaggery societies in very many places. The 1961 Census records under the category of tappers, 33,049 of whom 12,000 (i.e., 40%) are in Tirunelveli alone. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that only a very small number of people are engaged in their traditional occupation of tree climbing or toddy tapping. It may be argued that out of a sense of self-respect, many climbers might have tried to conceal their true occupation and the figure in 1961 Census might therefore be an under-estimation, the actual number of toddy tappers cannot be more than a small fraction of the total population. Members of the community have spread now in all the districts and some of their representatives whom we met in Salem, Coimbatore and Dharmapuri mentioned that they are taking to cultivation and in some places even to weaving. Whether the Nadars of Coimbatore and Salem are indigenous to this area or migrants from the South, no one has been able to say and the local representatives did not claim to have much active contact with the people of the Southern Districts, who always were in the forefront of the movement for social and economic progress. Some of the representatives whom we met in Thanjavur were a very humble lot and they said that they are known as Shanans and not as Nadars. There has been considerable diversification in the occupation pattern of their community. In all the major cities and towns all over the State, certain lines of retail trade and wholesale trade are largely controlled by the enterprising members of this community, who migrated originally from Ramanathapuram and Madurai Districts. Apart from the trading urban class the large majority of these people are dependent on tree climbing and other less remunerative occupations.

There is a general feeling among many, and this has been voiced by representatives of several communities that the Nadars are a progressive community. This is the impression drawn mostly by the pre-ponderance of this community in trade and business and by the prominence achieved by a few in service and in public life. The community has established numerous high schools and colleges and are very enthusiastic in the pursuit of progress. Their achievement is commendable, but whether the forward section of the community should get benefit of reservation in colleges and services along with the community as a whole, is part of a major problem, this is perhaps one of the largest Castes, and the achievements of the upper\*Strata have however not given the entire Caste a high ranking in education or Employment.

#### SADHU CHETTY:

Item No. 122 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes. Sadhu Chetty including Telugupatty Chetty or 24 Manai Telugu Chetty.

Item No. 122 Backward Classes, 46 Most Backward Classes - Telugupatty Chetty Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission. 120 Sadhu Chetty including Telugupatty Chetty or 24 Manai Telugu Chetty.

171 - Telugupatty Chetty.

Sadhu Chetty is a Telugu speaking trading caste found all over the State but chiefly concentrated in Dharmapuri, Tirunelveli, Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts. These people are also known by different caste names like Janappa Chetty, 24 Manai Telugu Chetty and Telugupatty Chetty as seen from their representations.

Extensive representations have been made by this caste. Their representatives also met the Commission at various places. They have a Statewide organisation called Sadhu Chetty Mahajana Sangam, Madras which has sent a detailed reply to our questionnaire. It was described that bulk of their people both men and women either work as coolies including farm labour or carry on as hawkers in the streets, carrying fruits and other edibles on their heads. Very few of them are stated to be petty traders and there are no rich businessmen or big land-lords among them. Educationally they are said to be very backward. The reply given by the Mahajana Sangam states the percentage of literacy among them is just 2% and that there are not many children pursuing higher education. Very few students are said to have availed scholarships and fee concessions given by the Government. This is a gross suppression of facts. Their educational standard far from being poor is in fact comparable to that of a forward community. From the statistics we collected from various sources it is seen that there are about 100 students studying in Medical Colleges in the State and in the selection for admission into M.B.B.S. this year about 75 applications were received from this community boys and girls. In the S.S.L.C. examination conducted in April 1970, 1,026 boys and girls appeared from this caste. In the sample survey we undertook to study the educational standard of various castes we found that 817 pupils of this caste are in XIth Standard this year. Verification of the scholarship

and records also shows that hundreds of students are availing scholarships every year. Actual number is given below.

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
Pre-matric	218	278	539
Post Matric (Residential)	146	171	193
Non-Residential	208	187	384
Professional-Residential	48	48	50
Non-Residential	19	16	28

All these show that the caste is not educationally very backward as it is made out to appear in their representations.

This caste is also fairly well represented in Government services, though they plead that only a handful of them are in Government service and that too as peons and attendants. There are about 300 persons in Government service including posts like Lecturers Assistant Professors in educational services. True, there are not many from the caste in gazetted position, but that is the case of many other castes in the list. It should be said that this caste has a good representation in the Government Services, as seen from the employment ranking order prepared by us.

But in the matter of population the representatives give a exaggerated picture ranging from 3 lakhs to 20 lakhs. The actual size of this caste is only 1,08,262 as reported by all the district Collectors. Their socio-economic status also cannot be said to be very low. May be their traditional occupation is weaving gunny bags from jute and some might continue in that evocation even to-day. But in recent times these people have taken to agriculture and trade very seriously and have made an impressive progress.

#### Sourashtra;

#### SOURASHTRA BRAHMAN, PATTUNULKARAN.

Item No. 130 'Sourashtra' in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 126 'Sourashtra' in Annexure II of the list of Backward Classes in Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list.

The Sourashtras or Pattunulkarans as they are otherwise known are a caste of silk weavers as the name itself denotes. They are found chiefly in the districts of Madurai, Salem, Trichirapally, Tirunelvely. They are said to have migrated from Sourashtra State several hundred years back. They speak a language which obviously has been derived from their original place of migration. Locally that language is known as Sourashtram. At present they have no contact whatsoever with their original homeland of Sourashtra. In schools and colleges Tamil is taken as medium of instruction by them. Some among them claim to Brahmans. There are Vaishnavites as well as Saivites amongst them.

#### Population:

In the 1921 Census their population was about 88,957. On that basis we can project their present population to 1,62,912. This community claims, however, that their population is about

3½ lakhs which is an exaggeration. They are an essentially urban community - Madras being their important centre. Nearly 2/3 of their population reside in the towns of Madurai, Dindigul, Trichy, Salem, Kumbakonam, Paramakudy, Palayankottai, Walajapet, Periakulam, Palani and in the city of Madras. Best of the population are found distributed in major Panchayat areas. Half of the population are Handloom Weavers. Out of the rest about 15 per cent are engaged in allied small scale industries and trades; like dyeing, cloth printing, sale of yarn and handloom. A small percentage are found doing businesses in Rayan silk, Silver-jewellery, Synthetic Diamond cutting and other occupations. A very few have taken to Industrial Enterprises. Some years back this community was considered fairly prosperous economically. After 1955, there appears to have been a set back, due to variety of reasons. Some representatives of this community have been so badly hit that they are disposing of their properties in the heart of the town and shifting to slum areas. Such a representation was also made at Walajapet. Even so, tenacity and adoptability and the desire to forge ahead which are the special characteristics of this community have stood them in good stead. This community specializes in Fine and Design Weaving. Fine Yarn Weaving fetches only Rs.75 per mensem; while Design Yarn Weaving only gets an earning of Rs.100 per mensem for the entire family. Their earnings, though slightly higher than these of other weavers is still poor enough.

In Education appreciable progress has been made, and they are running some educational institutions. The Principals and Heads of Educational Institutions have told us that the I.Q. of students from this caste is higher than that of other backward communities. Literacy percentage is higher - easily over 50 per cent. About 15 to 20 per cent of the young men and women are said to have reached or passed S.S.L.C. stage. Many have applied and got seats in colleges, including Professional Colleges like Medical Colleges, Engineering etc. In the recent years this community has contributed very eminent Doctors and Lawyers. In spite of the above, the general grievance ventilated was that there is no I.A.S., I.P.S. or I.F.S. in their community.

For uplifting the community many suggestions were put forward by the representatives of this community - which are similar to those urged by other weaving castes. They also asked for treatment as a most backward class.

There is a fairly big number of Master Weavers, and a larger number of people who have made good in other ways. Their progress in education and employment is quite impressive-quite ahead of other weaving communities. They certainly is a caste that has made comparatively better progress.

#### SOZHJA CHETTY:

Item No.170 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item No.45 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

The name 'Sozhia Chetty' must be considered more as a generic name than as a caste. Sozhia or Sozhia is a territorial name of various Tamil classes who were living in the 'Chola' country. 'Chetty' generally refers to a merchantile community of the earlier days. Therefore Sozhia Chetty can only refer to Chettis engaged in trade and commerce and Settled in Chola territory.

No proper representation has been received from this caste. The only representation received from one Thiru K. Balakrishnan of Sozhia Chettiar Sangam, Madras-1 claims that 97% of the population, the size of which has not been indicated, is living in rural areas. The main grievance in the memorandum is that the name Sozhia Chetty is not included in the Service Manual, consequent of which their people could not enjoy benefits in the matter of promotion. It should be said, that under the present system reservation is made for Backward Classes only in the matter of initial recruitments and not for promotions.

In the earlier Censuses, 'Sozhia Chetty' has not been recorded separately. The Census Reports say that there are about 74 different kinds of 'Chettis' and to classify each one of them separately would be very difficult. However, from the Collectors' Reports we find Sozhia Chettis numbering 8216 in Madurai district only. Entries like Sozhia Chetty in the Backward Classes list give room for misuse by many who do not legitimately belong to the caste or group of people for whom concessions were originally intended.

#### THONDAMAN:

Item No.136 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Item No.141 in the list of Backward Classes.

Item No.49 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Thondaman is a small caste found only in the southern districts of Kanyakumari, Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram and Madurai. Their traditional occupation is lime burning and selling. Hence they are also called as 'Chunnambukaran'. Some of them have recently taken to the musical profession - playing on drums and pipes. Reply to questionnaire was received from Tirunelveli district which is their main area of concentration. Their representatives also met the Commission at Tirunelveli.

They represent that they largely live in towns and continue their traditional occupation even to-day, claiming a population of 10,000. This is slightly over stated cannot be considered as a gross exaggeration. In 1921 Census they numbered 3,718. Their literacy standard is certainly low. In 1921 their literacy percentage was around 3%. They say that 10% of their urban population at present would be literates and that in villages the educational standard is very poor. On the whole, it is represented that there are about 6 graduates and 1 doctor from this community.

They represent that during last two generations inter-marriages are taking place between Thondaman people and some Denotified Tribes like Kantharva Kottai Kallar, Piramalai Kallar, Maravar and Servai. On this score, they plead that Thondaman also should be classified as a Denotified Tribe. This certainly is not sufficient reason to include them as part of a 'Denotified Tribe' - they were never notified as a criminal tribe. Their continuance in the list of Most Backward Classes is justified.

THULUVA VELALA (Included in Bracket).

Item No. 1 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 1 in the list of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

(This note deals specifically with Thuluva Vellala.)

Agamudayan was included in the list by G.O.Ms.No.715, Education, dated 5-8-1913. The particulars recorded at that time relating this caste:—

Agambadiyan (	) , or
Agamudayan (	) - a cultivating caste found in all districts.

Total male  
population  
1,67,793

Proportion of literates per thousand  
208 (nearly 21%)

In the 1911 Census on which the above information is obviously based the population was 3,49,753 of which 1,67,793 were males. From the regional distribution in Table No.XIII of Part II, of Census of India, 1911, Volume-12, it is seen that 2/3 of the population lived in Thanjavur, Madurai and Ramnad districts. Obviously the description Agamudayans in the 1911 Census on which the Government order referred to above was based, refers to those Agamudayans - said to be one of the branches of Mukkulathars. It is true that even in 1911 there were Agamudayans in smaller numbers in the northern districts, who are not socially of the same class, as the Ramnad and Thanjavur Agamudayans. The literacy percentage of 20.8 applied to all the Agamudayans - the Southern and Northern taken together.

In 1928 a representation was received from Thennattu Thuluva Vellalas of Madurai, residing at Thirumangalam and Madurai, praying for inclusion of their community in the list of Backward Classes as they were educationally backward. There was no mention that they were a subcaste of Agamudayans; and if they were indeed a subcaste the request was superfluous. The Director of Public Instruction reported that these Thuluva Vellalas are not confined to one district, but are scattered throughout the length and breadth of Tamil Nadu and they are a forward people as their literacy percentage was 22 while the State literacy percentage was only 6.2. He also pointed out that in the district of Madurai, there were only about 320 males belonging to the Thuluva Vellala community. It is obvious from this that Thuluva Vellalas, who made these representations,

were not a part of the Agamudayan (Mukkulathar) community which even then had a population of 62,409 in Madurai District. In 1940 a similar request was received from the Thuluva Vellalas of the South Arcot District. The Director of Public Instruction reporting on this request said, that the Thuluva Vellalas are a sub-division of the Agamudayan community which was already in the list of Backward Classes and recommended the extension of the concession under Madras Educational Rules to Thuluva Vellalas in his letter No. No. 3838-E/39, dt. 6-2-1940. In our opinion a confusion entered in the minds of Government officials for the first time of this stage as all the people describing themselves as Agamudayans in South Arcot are not identical with the Agamudayans of Ramanathapuram and Madurai and Thanjavur. By this time however Government deleted the entry "Agamudayans" itself from the list of Backward Classes apparently because of their high literacy. But subsequently on account of representations made to Government, the reinclusion of the Agamudayans community in the list of Backward Classes was ordered in G.O.Ms.No.395, Education, dated 7-3-1942. The Director of Public Instruction urged in 1944 that what he considered as the sub-division of the Agamudayan community, i.e. the Thuluva Vellalas may also be included in the list of Backward Classes. The amendment to the Madras Educational Rules was ordered in G.O.Ms.No.1231, Education, dated 19-8-1944, to read item No.1 of the list as Agamudayan (including Thuluva Vellalas).

Three questions arise, viz.

- (a) Whether the Thuluva Vellala is a sub-caste of the Agamudayan,
- (b) Whether the Agamudayan of whom Thuluva Vellala is presumed to be a sub-caste is the same Agamudayan referred to in the 1913 order of the Government and
- (c) Whether on the evidence available Thuluva Vellalas are a backward class.

(a) The authority quoted by the Director of Public Instruction in 1940 in support of the presumption of the Thuluva Vellala as a sub-division of the Agamudayan is Thurston on page 8, Volume-I. All Thurston does is to enumerate various sub-divisions of the Agamudayan, and "Thuluva (i.e. Thuluva Vellala)" is given as one of the sub-divisions, while elaborate description is given about some sub-divisions of the Agamudayan, - sub-divisions with names obviously germane to a material caste - there is no elaboration of the word 'Thuluva' in Thurston. Writing about Vellalas again Thurston talks of the Thuluva as migrants from a Thulu country and stated that Thuluva Vellalas are numerous in North Arcot and South Arcot and Chingleput districts. Here Thurston appears to be more reliable as the modern Thuluva Vellalas mostly hail from these areas. Apart from giving legendary details about Thuluva Vellalas, Thurston has not given any sociological data justifying the linking of the community either with the Vellala or the Agamudayan - (Mukkulathar). A Caste cannot be a sub-division of a high-class Vellala caste and a ritually lower Mukkulathar caste.



(b) According to 1921 Census, in North and South Arcot Districts the population of Agamudayans is noted as 14,520 and 15,720 respectively and there is no enumeration under Agamudayan in Chingleput district. There were however Agamudayans enumerated in Salem and Coimbatore which are for beyond the home-land of the Kallar, Maravar, Agamudayan. Since it is claimed that most of the Thuluva Vellalas come from the districts of North Arcot, and Chingleput and the city of Madras, and if there is any relation between the Thuluva Vellalas and the Agamudayans, it should be only with the people who were returned in the Census of 1921 as Agamudayans in South and North Arcot districts, who are obviously different from the people of the same name in Thanjavur and the southern districts.

Thuluva Vellalas known as Mudaliyars under several subdivisions are in fairly large number in Madras city and are obviously immigrants. Taking a projection from Agamudayan figures for South Arcot and North Arcot Districts given above in the 1921 Census, the present population would be in the neighbourhood of 55,000. There are some groups by this name in Tiruchirapalli, and Madurai districts also and perhaps elsewhere too. A specific reference was made to Collectors for further information. Their replies were generally inconclusive - but were nevertheless interesting as they threw some light on the relationship between Thuluva Vellala and "Agamudayan". The Collector of Madras asserts that these are two distinct castes - both fairly well advanced. The Collector of Chingleput however states that both terms refer to the same caste, while the Collector of South Arcot states that only a section of the people in the Agamudayan caste call themselves Thuluva Vellalas and the Collector of North Arcot thinks that they are not identical. The Collector of Tiruchirapalli however says that Thuluva Vellalas are found scattered in some taluks, and they call themselves Vellalas and Pillais, and in some places they are called Agamudayans as well.

We received comparatively very few representations from either the Agamudayans or the Thuluva Vellalas of the Northern districts. The few from the City who gave evidence appears before us very reluctantly. The Agamudayans of South Arcot are locally known as Udayars. They claim to be distinct from the Agamudayans of Thanjavur (Mukkulathar). There are Agamudayans in North Arcot who describe themselves as Tholu ( ) and use the title Nayakar. We saw some of them in villages around Thiruvannamalai. In Salem and Dharmapuri too there are Agamudayans who sometime use the title Mudaliyar but they do not describe themselves as Vellalas. The witnesses (representing this community), who appeared before us claimed that some amongst them especially those, who are educated and who have migrated to Madras, describe themselves as Thuluva Vellalas. Most of these people in North Arcot, Chingleput and Salem are small land owners and cultivators, but their economic condition is definitely better than that of the ordinary cultivating castes, though poverty is not unknown in some villages. No claim was made that the Coimbatore Agamudayans are Thuluva Vellalas. A witness who met us at Kancheepuram claimed that they describe themselves as Mudaliar Vellalas in the documents, and as Agamudaya - Mudaliyars or Thuluva Vellalas in scholarship applications and entries in schools and colleges. In the representation made by the Poonamalle Thuluva Vellalas there was no claim made that they are Agamudayans, but all the sub-sections of the Mudaliars were enumerated. In the representation made on behalf of the Thuluva Vellalas Sangam, led by

Dr. Sundaravadanam, it was admitted that they have made some progress in education and especially in the Medical Profession, but the rest of their people spread over the northern districts are comparatively poor. They seemed to represent the urban Mudaliyars and were not at all well-informed about the rural community. They could not describe the exact relation between Thuluva Vellalas and Agamudayans, except vaguely stating that the Thuluva Vellalas also describe themselves as Agamudayans in some places.

(c) Whether the Thuluva Vellala is a backward community has got to be judged therefore not by its relation with the Agamudayans but by the progress of the people identifying themselves separately as Thuluva Vellalas in education and employment and by their social and economic status. The opinion of the Collectors of the Districts primarily concerned has already been summarised.

The Government order of 1942 was apparently issued in the belief that this is a sub-caste of the Agamudayan and ordinarily the latter term would refer to the southern people—a branch of the Mukkulathar. It is clear that if they are a sub-caste, they are a sub-caste of a different caste of Agamudayan largely of North Arcot and Chingleput districts. Both groups of Agamudayans are however comparatively more advanced than many other Backward Classes.

The Thuluva Vellala Mudaliyar of the cities and towns are highly literate and prominent in all walks of life. It is a professional caste of officers, doctors and executives with a large element of the lower middle class salary earners. Their rural counterparts in Chingleput, North Arcot are small land-owners and tenant farmers, contributing regularly to this urban migration. Even admitting the existence of groups of these people in all districts, persons who would describe themselves as Agamudayan Mudaliars, their present population cannot exceed a lakh; out of the total population of 6.7 lakhs for all Agamudayans. For our assessment we have given them a population of 2 lakhs a generous estimate.

Judged by all the indices of progress, this community is not a backward sub-caste for whom the Government extended educational concessions in 1944.

#### UPPARA (SAGARA, UPPILIA).

(Item No. 138 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and Item No. 142 in the list of Backward Classes of the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.)

Uppilian, Uppara, and Uppaliga are different names for a class of people who follow the same traditional occupation of manufacturing salt. It is possible that these groups were originally a homogenous caste and in course of time migrated to different parts of the country adopting language of the locality in which they settled down. In Tamil Nadu they are popularly known as 'Uppilians'. They speak Tamil, while the 'Upparas' domiciled in Telugu country speak Telugu. A section of this caste settled in South Canara is known as Sagara or Sagara Kula.

Though their traditional occupation was manufacturing and trading in salt, they have now switched over to other pursuits, like Brick-laying, house construction, road construction, earth work etc. From the detailed memorandum submitted by the Uppara Kula Sangam it is seen that the Upparas are dispersed in all the Tamil Districts with some concentration in Madras City and suburbs. They state that their population size is 50,000 for the whole state. In 1921 Census, they accounted for 14,175 based on which we can roughly say that their present size would be about 35,000.

They claim that their educational standard is very low and only 5 per cent of them would be literates. According to their representation there are only 10 graduates and about 25 matriculates in the caste. Though there might be slight supression of facts in this statement, their general educational standard is low. Socially and economically they have not improved very much. Most of the people are engaged as coolies in all sorts of construction works and it is possible that few of them might be petty contractors.

Their main request is that they should be included under Most Backward Classes. Since Uppara is the common name of this caste in our state, the other synonyms, i.e. Uppilia and Sagara may be deleted.

#### VALAIYAR:

(Item No. 142 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and Item No. 147 in the list of Backward Classes and No. 50 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification issued by the Department of Backward Classes.)

This has been in the list of Backward Classes since 1913 and was included in the list of Most Backward Classes in 1957. Even in 1913 this was described as a "Shikari" or hunting Caste, found mainly in Madurai and Thanjavur Districts, with one of the poorest literacy percentage of 43 out of 1,000. The Madurai District Gazetteer--1960 edition--describes them as a hunting caste, who lived by netting game in jungles and by cultivation. The derivation for the word 'Valaiyan' (வலை) net. It is also pronounced as வலை from வலை used for catching rats and birds. They are said to be experts at catching rats and jungle fowls. The Thanjavur District Handbook--1957 edition--has the following description:--

'The Valaiyars (from Valai meaning net) were originally hunters. Many among them, however, have now taken to cultivation and menial service. They are divided into endogamous sects called Vedar, Sulundukkarar and Ambalakkarar; the first are hunters, the second are torch-bearers and the third are cultivators. They occupy a low position in society and many of their custom resemble those of the Paraiyars and the Pallars.'

There is no doubt, therefore, about low social and economic status of this caste. The difference between these people and the Scheduled Castes is exceedingly thin, and in some areas even partial untouchability is practised against them. The population according to 1921 Census was 3,44,713, out of which Ramanathapuram, Thanjavur and

Madurai districts account for nearly 75 per cent of the population.

Tiruchirapalli	-	73,018
Coimbatore	-	13,975
North Arcot	-	7,790
Ramanathapuram	-	80,600
Thanjavur	-	88,517
Madurai	-	88,603
Total population according		
to 1921 Census - 3,44,713		

Estimated population at present may not be less than 6 lakhs.

Small pockets of this caste are to be found in Coimbatore, and North Arcot Districts and these people may be found thinly spread in some other districts, especially in hilly and arid areas.

Oral evidence and written evidence were given by the representatives of this community in all the districts where their population is found in large numbers. In some representations, they describe themselves as 'Kannappakula Vala yar'. The common titles adopted by them are Mooppanar and Mooppar, though Ambalakaran, Servai and Muthuraja are also adopted. In a representation given on their behalf from Ramanathapuram District they have claimed that in view of their extremely backward state, a special reclamation should be devised for them as the condition is even worse than that of the Harijans. They are also a denotified tribe. Their housing condition is said to be particularly deplorable. They particularly stressed that literacy amongst them is perhaps the lowest of any caste in the State and men with education can be counted in one's fingers. They claimed that not even 5 per cent of their population may be literate in Tamil. For a population which may not very well be nearly 6 lakhs in the State, they count only about 30 in inferior Government Services. Our statistics confirm their poor achievement in all spheres. The bulk of these people are still engaged as agricultural labourers and coolies, stone and earth workers, fishermen and hunters. This is natural as they live mostly in dry cultivation areas everywhere. It would appear that amongst the most backward communities, this caste occupies almost one of the lowest ranks.

There is only one peculiar problem which has arisen in our examination of the relative position of Valayans and another community viz. Muthurajas or Muthuraiyans. This has been dealt with in our note on the latter. It should be noted that whereas the Muthurajas had claimed kinship with Valayans in some places, the Valayan representatives neither in their oral evidence nor in their written representation have laid stress on such kinship. In the written memorandum submitted from Madurai, it is mentioned that Muthuraja is one of the titles adopted by their people in some places. The adoption of a particular title is only of local significance and it is no certain guide for the determination of the caste status. As for example the use of the title 'Pillai' does not make one necessarily a Vellala. It should also be noted that while the Valayans describe themselves as descendants of Kannappar, a well-known Tamil saint of the Hill-Tribes (Hunter), nowhere the Muthurajas has claimed this low heritage.

In fact their Sangams have claimed descent from well-known Pallavan and Chola Generals and in some places they have even called themselves Vanniars. In a pamphlet issued about the 'Muthurajas Varalaru' (Muthurajas' history) they describe themselves as descendants of the rulers of three 'Tharais' or three lands, including Cholamandalam, Pandia Mandalam and Gongu Mandalam. The meaning given to the term is, rulers of three lands--*முத்தூர்*. Thurston, however, remarks that there is some connection between them, but what exactly it consists remains obscure. The Census Report for 1891 makes an interesting observation that the Valaiyans eat almost anything including rats, cats, squirrels, etc. From our observations of Muthurajas of Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur Districts, we do not think that they will relish this description being applied to them.

From the evidence tendered to us as well as from the reference cited, it is quite obvious that Valayans are a class apart from Muthurajas. In educational, social and economic advancement, the Valaiyans stand far below the former. It is however likely that the well-to-do Valayans describe themselves as Muthurajas. Valayans as a class are about at the bottom of the Most Backward Classes in every respect.

#### VANNAN (WASHERMEN).

(Item No. 144 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission)

(Item No. 150 [Vannan (Agasa, Madivala, Ekali, Rajakola, Veluthadan, Rajaka)] in the list of Backward Classes, Notification issued by the Department of Backward Classes and Item No. 56 in the list of Backward Classes of the Department of Backward Classes.)

This is one of the communities from which massive representation was received by the Commission. Almost at every place we visited whether district headquarters or an interior village there was always a deputation from this community. In addition to numerous replies to the questionnaire, some of which were printed oral evidences were also tendered by many. Among written representations mention should be made of the following;—

- (1) The Secretary, Tamil Nadu Salavai Thozhilalar Sangam, Madurai District.
- (2) Desiya Thozhilalar Sangam, Washermen Federation of Arkonam.
- (3) Coimbatore District Salavai Thozhilalar Sangam.
- (4) Salem Washermen's Federation and Conjeevaram Town Washermen's Association.

There is not a single village without one or two families of washermen and every small town will have about 50 to 100 houses, and population in the cities can be reckoned in thousands. There are statewide sangams as well as local sangams, to look after the interest of these people and there is a fortnightly journal, 'Salavai Sangam' brought out to educate and unite the washermen. Excellent oral evidences were tendered by their representatives at Madras, Conjeevaram, Madurai, Vellore and Coimbatore.

During our district tours we also visited certain areas of their chief concentration of which particular mention should be made of Vaigai bank in Madurai town and Mayaru in Mettupalayam town. In Madurai more than 1,000 families live in a cluster of huts on the river side where the sanitary conditions are very poor. During heavy rains, they complained that the whole area would be inundated. Construction of housing colonies for washermen in such places must receive attention without delay.

There are various branches or sub-castes among them and it cannot be said that there is complete intermixing. But, to whatever sub-caste they belong, their main occupation is washing clothes. The sub-division amongst them is sometimes based on the castes to whom they are supposed to serve or not to serve. The representation received at Madurai gives sub-caste as Irunguga (இருங்கூர்), Pandi (பாண்டி), Telungar (தெலுங்கர்), Muhamadiar (முஹமீயர்). This of course does not include the washermen who serve habitually the Harijan class. Another representation gives the sub-division as Maruthanattu Vannan (மருதநாட்டு வண்ணன்), Jetty Vannan (ஜெட்டி வண்ணன்), Pandya Vannan (பாண்டிய வண்ணன்), Panikka Vannan (பனிக்க வண்ணன்) and Puthirai Vannan (புதிரை வண்ணன்).

Some of the representations put their population as anything between 10 to 12 lakhs. According to the 1921 Census, it was 2,49,502 and projected, the present population can be estimated as 4,61,239. In the rural areas they were always treated as a community serving caste, obliged to serve all the people in the village. Very often wages even now are paid in kind once or twice a year, according to a rate fixed perhaps generations ago. The main grievance of the Dhoobis in rural areas is that these traditional wages are low and that they are compelled to perform certain duties which are considered to be very mean. It was represented that even to-day the Dhoobies are subjected to social discrimination. They are expected to wash polluted and disease infected clothes and have to perform several ritual duties of a socially degrading nature. Another grievance which was repeatedly emphasised in many places was that poramboke and village sites by the side of rivers and tanks which they used to occupy for washing and drying clothes are being encroached upon by others. This is a matter to be enquired into, and action taken to restore such sites back to them. They like to be emancipated from these disabilities imposed on them by feudal society. On the economic side many of them complain that they have no house to live and there are no facilities to carry on their avocations. In view of the scattered population there is very little capacity in them for uniting against social oppression and for demanding better wages.

Even in Madras City and towns in districts, their living conditions and earning capacity have not improved appreciably. One great help provided by the Government in recent years for them is the construction of Dhoobi Khanas with assured supply of water and built in facilities. But the number of such Dhoobi Khanas is totally inadequate and there is scope for opening up a number of them in various places--in fact in every major Panchayat and Township. Educationing, they complain that they are very backward. It is stated that only less than one per cent of them would have studied upto S.S.L.C. and

their children pursuing higher education is rare on account of poor economic conditions and social inhibition.

Their request everywhere has been that they should be regarded as Scheduled Castes. The Commission made a reference to other States and the replies received show that in Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Kerala they are treated as Scheduled Castes. In other States they are treated as a Backward Class only. It does not look as if there is a very good case for going to the Central Government now for including this caste in the Schedule. However, they are in the list of Most Backward Classes and deserve to be given concessions and facilities on a par with the Scheduled Castes.

The main requests made on their behalf are summarised below:

- (1) Loan facilities from the Nationalised Banks on liberal terms to enable them to start laundries,
- (2) Dhobi Khanas with facilities for water supply drying grounds, etc. should be provided for their benefit by all Panchayats and Municipalities,
- (3) Assignment of house sites and facilities for building houses both in rural areas and in towns,
- (4) Right to collect the special earth used by washermen in rural areas without obstruction and hindrance by the local authorities, and
- (5) Application of the Removal or Untouchability Offences Act of 1955 to washermen community also to prevent them from social oppressions.

It is gratifying to note that the Government is contemplating to start a diploma course in Laundry Technology and the commission fully endorses the idea.

Some of the enlightened leaders suggested fair wages should be fixed for their services in towns, cities and rural areas separately. Requests were also made for more supply of better appliances like iron, ironing board and also chemicals like soda, bleaching powder, tinopal, sulphuric acids for cleaning the cloth. In view of their hazardous occupation and their liability to contract infectious and contagious diseases, requests for social risk insurance were also made in some places. They have also pleaded for power laundry on co-operative basis to be started in all cities and important towns. Another request made by all the representatives is that they should be given separate representation proportionate to their population in the services, and in admission to educational institutions. On political level, they have pleaded that they should be nominated to all Municipalities and Panchayats as with the scattered population they will not be able to put up their candidates and that they should be represented in the legislature also.

VANNIA KULA KSHATRIYAS:

Items Nos. 100, 101 and 150 in the list of Backward Classes including Most Backward Classes; item 1 in the list of Most Backward Classes and item 47 in the list of Denotified Tribes in the prospectus for admission into the Government Medical Colleges in the State of Tamil Nadu, Session 1969-70.

Items Nos. 101, 102 and 151 in the list of Backward Classes; item No. 38 in the list of Most Backward Classes and item 47 in the list of Denotified Tribes in the Notification of Department of Backward Classes.

Items Nos. 102, 103 and 145 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

This is perhaps the largest cultivating caste in Tamil Nadu. Members of this caste are also found in the neighbouring Andhra districts and some of the Telugu speaking Vannias are also to be found in Madras City, Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. They are known as 'Agnikula Kshatriyas'. The density of their population is the highest in the northern districts of Chingleput, South Arcot, North Arcot and Salem, Dharmapuri, Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur Districts have also a very heavy concentration of Vannias in some taluqs. But in the southern districts there are only small pockets and in Tirunelveli they are very thinly spread out. In the written representations presented to the Commission, claims have been made that their population is about 30 to 35 per cent of the State population. Obviously the writers of these representation appear to have been carried away by the very heavy concentrations in the areas with which they are familiar and appeared to have calculated the percentage after excluding the Harijan population. It is no doubt true that in all these northern districts, in several blocks the majority of non-Harijan population in each village is Vannia. According to the 1921 Census, their population throughout the State was 26,45,561 and projected from this, the present population would be 48,61,742 or, say, roughly 50 lakhs. It is worth recording that all the Scheduled Castes put together exceed the Vannia Kula Kshatriya population only by a small margin. A Statement showing the population of the Vanniakula Kshatriya and the Scheduled Castes, districtwise for the entire State, is attached. In North Arcot, South Arcot and Salem, they exceed the Scheduled Caste population by a large margin - 30 to 40 per cent in excess.

This is perhaps the only major caste which has no effective sub-castes or sub-divisions. The terms 'Vanniar' and 'Vannia Kula Kshatriyas' are known throughout the district and innumerable titles are used by these people. In a representation made on behalf of the Toilers Party, 79 such titles had been enumerated. Most of them have a martial meaning to indicate that the caste is descended from a race of fighters, just like the Maravas and Kallas in the South. The title commonly used and accepted in Chingleput, South Arcot and Thanjavur is Padayachi. In North Arcot and the City of Madras, Naicker or Nayakar is more popular. In Salem and Dharmapuri, Gounder is the common title. Nevertheless, Padayachi and Naicker are accepted as the more popular titles. There are Reddiars and



Mooppanars as well. In Salem, Dharmapuri and Coimbatore the community is known as the Vannia Gounder or Padayachi Gounder to distinguish it from the Vellala Gounder who are the dominant cultivating caste in that area.

The caste has all the traits of a self-contained tribe. This is inevitable in view of its enormous size and its earlier fighting origin. There were Raja Vanniars, Kshatriya Vanniars, Vaishnavites, Barbers and Dhobies and other service castes inside the community for the exclusive service of the community though these distinctions are levelled down in recent decades.

This is a predominantly cultivating community and the main occupation should be regarded as cultivation. The number of big landholders for a community of this size is very small. It is claimed that only about 10 per cent of the people in rural areas are either small landholders or tenant farmers and the rest are engaged as farm workers. Both men and women perform manual labour. Very few members of this caste have taken to retail trade or business of any kind worth mentioning, either in the rural areas or in the towns. Large numbers of them are found as coolies in towns and industrial establishments. Because of their extreme poverty, during the last few generations the members of the caste had taken to several other occupations. In fact, there is no occupation or trade which they have not taken up in some place or other. Weaving, mat-making, basket-making, fishing and even rearing of pigs, are some of the occupations to which these people have resorted to. Of course, occupations connected with manual labour like digging wells, earth-work, construction work, and masonry also, attract recruits from this caste.

It is worth recording that the Padayachis in a group of villages in South Arcot District in the area where the Neyveli Complex now stands were declared a criminal tribe. After denotation, no special ameliorative measures were taken to rehabilitate them. The descendants of these people are scattered all over South Arcot District and they have a grievance that they have not been looked after by the Government.

Though they form the single biggest community outside the Harijan fold, in at least five districts, nowhere are they able to assume the position of a dominant caste. Many of the tenant farmers and farm workers are obliged to landlords and moneylenders belonging to the dominant communities like the Reddiars, Naidus, Mudaliars and Brahmins. Indebtedness is widespread among them, and their educational index is one of the poorest. The absence of financial resources within the community is clearly indicated by the fact that, in spite of their numerical strength of nearly half a crore, they are not able to run any big educational institutions. Recently one or two hostels have been started in some places, and the College endowed by one of its members, is also now alleged to be outside the control and influence of the founder's family or caste.

The community's progress in education is one of the lowest at all levels. Even now their graduates are hardly a hundred or so in each district and their doctors, engineers and lawyers are still

fewer for a population of their size. This may be largely due to the absence of any sizeable upper crust--there being very few big landlords, merchants or moneyed people.

There is one State-wide Sangam which has been in existence for a nearly 70 years and during the earlier decades it did good work in introducing various social reforms and in Sanskritising some aspects of the life of the community. That Sangam is no longer very active and there is no organised direction from within the community for improving the economic condition or the education of the people.

There is a feeling in some quarters that it being a numerically big community, this is well on the road to become a dominant community. But the community had not made any stride worthwhile on the politics of the State and most of the witnesses who appeared before us vociferously asserted that they are suffering from the lack of leadership. Though they are able to get several of their men elected to local institutions and the Legislature, they have not been able to exert sufficient influence on the administration, either locally or in the State level, because of disunity.

There is a strong sense of frustration among the people, as voiced by all their witnesses. Though the community has been in the Backward Classes list since the beginning and listed among the Most Backward Communities since the time this list was formed, their progress in education has been very slow and their share in the employment opportunities is inadequate for a community of their size. All the witnesses of this community, both in their oral as well as written representations, pressed for proportional representation in Government services at all levels and for reservation in promotion as well. As the biggest cultivating caste, living almost side by side with the Scheduled Castes in most of the villages, they compare their lot with that of the Scheduled Castes who have been given several concessions in recent years and there is a feeling that unless their lot is substantially improved in all directions, the possibilities of social tension cannot be ignored. They have asked for all the economic concessions like land for the landless, home for the homeless, money for starting industries and business, license and permits, in fact, all the concessions which are now being granted to the Scheduled Castes. In fact, many of the witnesses, including M.L.As. and M.Ps., stated that there is hardly any difference in the rural areas between the Scheduled Castes and the members of this community except in name and in the place in the social hierarchy. We have seen their squalor and poverty and overcrowding in the villages we visited in South Arcot and Tiruchirapalli Districts and their dependence on major landlords in some places in Thanjavur. Some of the worst living conditions will be found in streets principally inhabited by these people. In such circumstances children's education is sadly neglected and "drop out" is very common.

Though various suggestions were made for amplifying the list to include all the numerous titles, the Commission thinks it is unnecessary except that the entry under the Most Backward Communities should be worded exactly similar to the entry in the Backward Class list.

Districtwise estimated population of Vannia Kula  
Kshatriya and Scheduled Castes for 1971.

District	Estimated population of Vanniakula Kshatriya for 1971.	Estimated population of Scheduled Castes for 1971.
1. Madras	92,023	2,54,444
2. Chingleput	5,77,397	7,32,918
3. North Arcot	9,52,211	7,37,735
4. South Arcot	13,36,596	9,52,912
5. Salem	9,06,483	6,58,600
6. Coimbatore	1,30,096	6,34,749
7. Nilgiris	921	92,744
8. Madurai	47,385	5,82,697
9. Tiruchirapalli	3,28,629	6,73,014
10. Thanjavur	4,58,967	8,92,667
11. Ramanathapuram	19,016	4,43,599
12. Tirunelveli	12,018	5,12,387
13. Kanyakumari	--	48,249
Total	48,61,742	72,16,715

VANIYAR OR VANIGA VYSYA:

Item No. 149 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 143 in the list of Backward Classes in Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Members of this caste are found in all the Tamil districts. Their traditional occupation is oil pressing and selling of oil. Since oil is an essential requirement for diet, toilet and ritual purposes, this community is essential for self-sufficiency of the traditional village society. A few houses of Vaniyars are, therefore, to be found in all major villages and towns. Unlike the customary service castes of Barbers, Dhobies and Kammalans, Vaniyar may not be found in every village. Greater concentration is to be found in areas where edible oil seeds like gingelly and groundnuts are cultivated. They also press and sell non-edible oils which were as illuminants in the past. In recent decades they have taken to trading activities in most major villages and towns. Members of this caste who were accustomed to retail trading in oil, slowly moved over to retail trading in other household goods, an easy transition. But trading in oil is still almost their monopoly. As bullocks were used for the country checks, members of this caste also took to cultivation as an alternative or as a subsidiary occupation, using their bullocks as draught animals and for plying of bullock carts for goods transport in the rural areas. Owing to the displacement of country oil presses by rotary presses and selling of oils in containers, the traditional occupation of this community has suffered

considerably. In a very many places the country checks have become a rarity.

Representatives of this community met us in large numbers in almost all district headquarters and in very many of the smaller towns we visited. Numerous written representations were also received in reply to our Questionnaire. As usual they have exaggerated their population and have tried to under-state their progress in education, employment and in economic spheres. The Vaniya Vaniga Sangam in Madras claimed that their population would be about 30 lakhs. The 1921 Census recorded a figure of 1,98,300 in the entire State excluding Kanyakumari district. But the 1931 Census, however, gave a much lower figure, namely 99,942. The only explanation for this variation is that some other community was also enumerated as Vaniar in the 1921 Census; perhaps, the Elai Vaniyars might have been included in the enumeration. If we take 1931 Census as a guide, the present population would be of the order of 1,60,000. If the 1921 Census figure is taken their population would now be ~~lakhs~~ 3.73. It was mentioned to us that the community leaders are taking a Census of socio-economic data at the moment, and the final tabulated results are awaited. It would be fairly correct to say that in North Arcot and Tirunelveli districts there is a fair concentration of this caste and that in all other districts including Kanyakumari members of this community are to be found following the various occupations mentioned above including their traditional occupation. There has been a sizeable migration to the bigger towns and the men have taken to cooly work including pulling of carts.

The figures given below, taken from the sample survey reports furnished by the caste representatives give a fairly reliable picture of the literacy, educational progress and share in Government services of the members in this community. The number of boys and girls drawing scholarships in post-matric class also gives an idea of the general progress of education of this caste.

For the last few years there has been an agitation for the inclusion of this caste in the list of Most Backward Classes.

They do not run a hostel of their own nor have they set up a college with funds raised by the community. They have a very small number of men holding Gazetted jobs, though they have produced a few outstanding business and service men in the past. Their main requests are:

1. that they should be included in the list of Most Backward Classes.
2. the members of their community should be given facilities for owning and operating rotary checks.
3. that oil from country checks should be given all facilities as are afforded to village industry products of the Khadi Board, and
4. proportionate representation should be given for their community in Government service.

A deputation which met us at Vellore grudgingly admitted that while concentrating on business activities they have made some progress economically, they have failed to take advantage of the various facilities given by the Government in the educational and employment spheres. And that some special efforts should be made now to pull them up in these two directions.

We are happy to record that the leaders of this community, amongst all the others, took the initiative in trying to prepare a somewhat detailed sample survey of their population, education and economic progress. The tabulated results of some of these sample surveys have also reached us. As the data is not complete, even for one district—leave alone the State, we are not able to draw any general conclusions. But from the figures supplied by them, some progress has been made in literacy, especially in some groups of villages in Tirunelveli District, but even this is uneven. Taking all these sample surveys together, the literacy reached does not exceed 27 per cent. For a survey covering a population of 24,000, they have stated that there are 706 S.S.; L.C. passed and 69 graduates. This shows a certain amount of dynamism; but their progress in employment is not so good.

It looks as if concessions have been claimed by other than oil mongers i.e. by castes which can legitimately describe themselves as Vanika or Vaisyas. If this abuse is to be stopped the description should be Vaniyar ( *வணிகர்* ).

Vaniar	Population	S.S.; L.C. passed	Studying S.S.; L.C.	Graduates	Gazetted Officers	People with own houses	Literacy
Madras	155		1			30	24
Ramnad (1)	750	25	11	4		70	82
(2)	163		4			9	20
Madurai (1)	90	3		1		16	30
(2)	1261	136	37	12		154	933
Tirunelveli (1)	303	15	4			61	65
(2)	32		3			13	7
(3)	560	5				90	120
(4)	180	2	2	1		35	40
(5)	376	10	30	3		100	225
(6)	3,000	25	5	2		150	500
(7)	297	7				45	182
(8)	238	10	10			25	183
(9)	162	3	1	1		15	110
(10)	5,000	100	7	10		2,000	2,000
(11)	870	35	24	2		125	545
(12)	100	2	3			15	30
(13)	5,000	250	75	30		1,200	670
(14)	5,000	75	10	3		300	1,000
Tuticorin	554	3				27	48
	24,028	706	227	69	-	4,480	6,814

VIRAKODI VELLALARS:

Item No. 153 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 148 in the list of Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

This entry was substituted for an earlier entry for Panisaivan in G.O.Ms.No.432, Education, dated 22-3-1943, which was issued on consideration of a representation from the Tondaimandalam Virakodi Vellalar Sangam, Madras and in accordance with the orders conveyed in G.O.No.2216, Development, dated 11-9-1939. The assumption then was that Virakodi Vellala is a modernised and more respectable substitute for Panisaivan. This was in consonance with the general policy of the Government to accept whatever name a particular caste wants to be described as. The 'Panisaivan' had a certain degree of low status connotation and the people in trying to elevate their social status adopted the Vellala name. 'Panisaivans' are described by the Director of Public Instruction in 1937 in the following terms;

"The caste known as 'Panisaivan' whose hereditary occupation is to render some menial service during funeral ceremonies is very backward in education and should, therefore, be included as a Backward Community."

The Tondaimandalam Virakodi Vellala Sangam, Madras has now represented to Government for deleting the caste 'Virakodi Vellalar' from the list of Backward Classes and allowing to continue 'Panisaivan' as synonym of Valluvan, a Scheduled Caste.

In 1951 and 1961 Census, in the list of Scheduled Castes in the State of Madras, 'Panisaivan or Panisavan' occur as an alias or synonym for Valluvan. The Government of Madras have also informed the Commission that 'Panisaivan' is a synonym of Valluvan which is a Scheduled Caste and that proposals for addressing Government of India to treat 'Panisaivan' as a synonym of Valluvan, along with other synonyms, are under their consideration. We do not, therefore, propose to go into that.

The question, however, remains whether there is a separate higher or class Hindu Virakodi Vellalar. Unless there was one, the 'Panisaivan' community would not have transformed its name. It is interesting that scholarships have been obtained, residential as well as non-residential, pre-matric as well as post-matric, from almost every district by students describing themselves as Virakodi Vellalars. The 'Panisaivan' community is practically confined to the city of Madras, Chingleput District and North Arcot District only. The ritual duties connected with the funeral etc., which these people perform in these northern districts are performed elsewhere by barbers and by other Scheduled Caste communities. Neither the Barber nor the other Scheduled Caste communities would describe themselves as Virakodi Vellalars for the obvious reason that it does not do them any benefit. It is clear, therefore, that there must be some small

section of people who are traditionally entitled to describe themselves as Virakodi Vellalars and also that this rather respectable sounding name has been adopted by other Vellala sub-castes whose normal name is not in the list of Backward Classes. The impression of most educational officers who testified before us is also that the name entered is being extensively misused.

For the first time, in our tours we met representatives of Virakodi Vellars, other than 'Panisaivan' at Orattanad. They stated that they come from a village called 'Virakodi' near Pudukkottai and they are a very small community confined to a few villages in an around the old Pudukkottai State. Some families from this area might have migrated outside. Another ticklish problem was encountered in Dharmapuri District. Where are a group of lower middle cultivating caste, who call themselves Veerakodi Vellalas. It is difficult for us to state without very elaborate research whether these people are genuine Virakodi Vellalas of Pudukkottai variety or they are different. The leader of this group, whom we questioned, was not able to confirm whether they are really 'Panasaivan' who changed their name. It was embarrassing for him to answer our questions. The Collector of Dharmapuri, to whom we referred the matter eventually, also stated that there is no connection between the 'Panisaivan' with their lowly occupation and the people who describe themselves as Virakodi Vellalars.

The Chairman and the Secretary visited on 28-9-70 some of the villages in the old Pudukkottai State, which were mentioned by the witnesses at Orattanad. The first village visited was 'Koil Virakudi'. There are 50 houses of people who are always known as 'Virakodi Vellalas' and the leaders of the village mentioned that their population is confined to the following villages:--

1. Koil Veerakudi
2. Kannankudi
3. Alangudipatti
4. Marudur
5. Mangathevanpatti
6. Vellanur
7. Annaiyapuram
8. Ponmalaipatti

The first six of these villages are in the original Pudukkottai area. The seventh is in Thanjavur Taluk of Thanjavur District and the 8th is in Tiruchi Taluk. They contend that they have no relations with people outside their villages and no contact with other districts a majority of them are small landowners and about the one-third of their people are landless and there are no big landlords at all. They were positive that they are not Kodikal Pillaimars or Vettillakara Vellala nor are they Sholiar Vellalars. They use the title 'Pillai' and the other name by which they are known is "Poochukara Vellala". This name "Poochukara Vella" is applied to them because of their profuse use of "Vibuthi", the sacred ash and they are devotees of Lord Muruga. We also visited Mangathevanpatti where there are about 20 to 25 families of these 'Poochukara Virakodi Vellalas'. All of them are non-vegetarians. They maintain a certain respectability or சிறப்பு are do not allow their women to do coolly work. These are a class of people who actually deserve assistance.

Their educational attainment is completely negligible. They state that in all the 8 villages there may be 2 or 3 S.S.;L.Cs. There is not even a single girl who is a S.S.L.C. and there is not a single graduate from these villages.

The entry "Virakodi Vellalars", as has already been pointed out, was substituted for "Panisaivan". Whatever concessions which the old Depressed Classes and Backward Classes enjoyed, were for the 'Panisaivan' who, as already observed, are confined to the northern districts. If the entry had not been changed into "Virakodi Vellalas" in 1943, none of these people in the southern districts would have received any concession. So, the receipt of educational and other benefits under this entry by people calling themselves Virakodi Vellalars, rightly or clandestinely, was not as per the intention of the Government. If the entry "Virakodi Vellala" is interpreted in this manner, as it ought to be, by the restoration of the name 'Panisaivan' and including it in the list of Scheduled Castes, justice is being done to the people for whom it was always intended. But it will result in withdrawal of the concessions enjoyed by ritually higher castes who are calling themselves Virakodi Vellalars. Except for this pocket of genuine Virakodi Vellalars described above, it cannot be said that cancellation of this entry is depriving anybody of his legitimate privileges. If "Pinisaivans" is entered in the list of Scheduled Castes as accepted by the Government already, we would only suggest that if Virakodi Vellala is to be retained, it should be qualified as "Virakodi Vellala, belonging to the old Pudukkottai State and Thanjavur taluk of Thanjavur District and of Tiruchirappalli taluk of Tiruchirappalli District.

It is also necessary to record that no representation was received from people who called themselves Virakodi Vellalas in the past; and the entry was made at the request of only the "Panisaivan" who changed into Virakodi Vellalas. Even now, there is only a stray representation received from the people of Virakodi Vellala community, not at all commensurate with the number of scholarships from the districts, and the people of Dharmapuri district where there are genuine Virakodi Vellalas or Panisaivan. They are very reluctant witnesses and no injustice is enured as they themselves have not made a request for any concessions for them.

In the circumstances the caste may be amplified as indicated below:

VIRAKODI VELLALAR (in old Pudukkottai State, Tanjavur taluk and Tiruchirappalli Taluk) excluding Panisaivans.

#### VETTUVA GOUNDER:

Item No. 54 in the list of Most Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 174 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.



Oral evidence given by their representatives at Coimbatore reply to the questionnaire received state that Vettuva Gounders are mostly agriculturists. They are largely found in Coimbatore and Salem districts and it is claimed that most of them are landless agricultural coolies barring a few who might be owning small bits of lands and whose number would be very negligible. Many of them are stated to be engaged in works like earth digging and well sinking also as 'Oddas'.

Their representation claims that their total number in the State would be about one lakh, which might be on the high side. Their literacy standard is said to be below 10% and only very few youngsters had the advantage of collegiate education. Even these find it difficult to secure employment. From the Collectors' reports it is seen that their number is 22,817 and 9,936 in Salem and Coimbatore districts respectively. These reports indicate that they are all really backward economically and educationally.

Though they are treated as a Most Backward Class, they do not seem to have made any progress. One of their claims is that as in Kanyakumari district 'Vettuvan and Vettuvan Gounder are one and the same, it should be included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. The Vettuva Gounders might be socially and economically backward but they do not bear any of the tribal features, they were never a tribe. But 'Vettuva Goundan' in Tiruchirapalli district is a Denotified Tribe. The Commission therefore considers that they may continue in the list of Most Backward Classes.

#### VOKKALIGAS:

Item No. 146 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 141 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

The Vokkaligas is perhaps the single largest Kannada speaking caste in Tamil Nadu. They claimed to have migrated from the neighbouring Mysore areas. Naturally their population is concentrated in Coimbatore, Salem, Dharmapuri and the Nilgiris districts and in some parts of Madurai. It is also noticed that large sections of these people live in hilly areas. In Coimbatore district their concentration is in Avinashi, Pollachi and Gobichettipalayam Taluks. According to 1921 Census, of the total population of 78,619 about 48,000 were in Coimbatore district. The present population of Vokkaligas for the State is estimated as 1,44,478 or roughly 1½ lakhs, though Collector's estimate puts it down to 68,354. (The population of a virile agricultural community could not have declined so fast in 50 years! This is an illustration of the error estimation may lead to, if made without proper study.)

District	Population according to 1921 Census	Population according to 1971 Census
Salem	3,395	6,239
Coimbatore	48,228	88,628
Madurai	26,019	47,815
Nilgiris	977	1,795
	78,619	1,44,477

Written representations on their behalf were received from all these districts and oral evidence was also taken at Madras, Madurai, Karamadai and Coimbatore, besides a few other places. Socially the caste commands considerable standing and in the areas in Coimbatore district where they are concentrated they command considerable political influence as well. They have two M.L.As. and three Panchayat Union Chairmen according to the statement given to us at Karamadai. It is also claimed that about 20% of their people hold lands and the majority are either tenant farmers or agricultural labourers. This community has not succeeded in diversifying its occupation and very few have taken to trade or industry. Regarding education, in the places we visited there is evidence of growing interest in sending all younger generation of boys and girls to schools. As an instance in Jadayarpalayam village with a population of about 100 houses, there are about 1700 children including 60 girls going to school, but their progress in higher education is poor and their complaint is that very few of their men are in Government service. It is also mentioned to us that they run a hostel at Gobichettipalayam for their children but without any Government assistance so far. It would appear in all these districts the areas in which these people live are not favoured with roads and other means of communication and children have to travel several miles to reach even the nearest high school. This situation arises because most of their people live in largely in dry cultivation areas. On the economic side, being a good agricultural community, they would like to have facilities of agro-industries and the facilities like generous assistance for loans for sinking wells, installing pump sets, etc. It was mentioned to us by almost all the representatives that in view of the different names under which their community is described, they experience difficulties in getting certificates. Vokkaligar, Vakkaligar, Okkaligar, Kappiliyar, Kappu, Okkaliya Gowdar, Okkaliya Gounder, Okkaliya Gowda are all the different variations and the acceptable description seems to be Vakkaliga with an explanatory note that this would cover all the other variations.

#### WYNAD CHETTY:

Item No. 155 (The Nilgiris district) in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 149A (The Nilgiris district) in the list of Backward Classes in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

This again is another small community about 6,000 strong, mostly living in the Gudalur taluk in the Nilgiris district. They follow the 'Marumakkalthayam' system of inheritance and mostly attend to agricultural operation. Their representatives met the Commission at Ootacamund and represented that among them only one has obtained a University Degree and two are studying in the Colleges. Since their mother tongue is Malayalam they find it difficult to admit their children in the local schools and colleges.

No change in their status is called for.

YADAVA:

Item No. 156 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No. 50 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Idayan was the term used to denote this caste in the 1913 list and the term, Yadava was substituted in 1931. There is no dispute as to the identity of these terms - Yadava being the Sanskrit name used to denote the shepherd community all over India. Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts have the largest concentration of this caste with South Arcot, North Arcot, Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur districts closely following. Members of this caste are to be found in almost all the Tamil districts including the Nilgiris and the Kanyakumari districts. The Commission received replies to the questionnaire from a number of Yadava Associations and oral evidence was also recorded in several places in all these districts. Next to the Vaniakula Kshatriyas and the Kalla and Marava group, the Yadava caste appears to be the largest single caste. The Yadava Associations in their written replies have as usual exaggerated their population, claiming as much as 45 lakhs or about 10% of the total population. The detailed break-up given below based on Census projection explains the actual position. The caste leaders admit several sub-castes and internal divisions. Though in the past, intermingling with some of the sub-castes was frowned upon these barriers are now gradually relaxed. The main memorandum of their Association enumerates about 29 sub-castes though a few of them are actually only titles. The common titles used are Konar, Das and Pillai.

The vast majority of the people live in villages though in recent decades a substantial number are settled in the major towns and cities following many of the avocations open to the educated people. It is also interesting that a large proportion of these people live in what may be properly described as backward areas i.e. in the dry cultivation areas of Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli, South Arcot and North Arcot districts. Among the rural folk, the representatives claimed about 60% are engaged in rearing sheep and about 20% in rearing cows and buffalo for producing and vending milk products. Both men and women are engaged in traditional pursuits, and even when some of them take to cultivating land, both men and women work as field labourers. It cannot be said that the main occupation of the caste even now is agricultural; it is largely sheep and cattle rearing and pastoral.

From our studies and from the evidence recorded it would appear a three-fold division is developing among the members of this caste:—

- (a) A purely pastoral or sheep and cattle rearing type, which perhaps may account for the majority of the people;
- (b) A small farmers, milk producers and vendors of milk and milk products supplying partly in villages and partly in towns;
- (c) A small upper crust of land owning and educated gentry following the usual professions and occupations of any educated middle class.

Undoubtedly the proportion falling under the last category is very small and may be largely confined to the towns in Tirunelveli, Madurai and Salem districts. Any progress in education and employment can be said to pertain only to this last class of the upper crust of the population. Amongst the pastoral people, there is very little of land owning; and pasture in their native districts is very limited and as grazing is affected by vagaries of a rain fall and by seasonal cultivation, large numbers of shepherds move from village to village and very often go to distant districts tending their sheep. Their women and children also move out with them, though of late it is reported in the Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts, women and children are left behind in the native villages for four to six months at a stretch. The problem of looking after and educating these children, whose fathers are in their migratory tripes deserves sympathetic consideration. The scarcity and poverty of pastoral lands in many of their districts and the scanty attention that has so far been paid by the State to improve the cattle and sheep wealth of the land were emphasized by the spokesmen. More detailed investigation than we have been able to make is necessary to ascertain the extent of the pastoral land and pasture problems, and in any case the Government should take measures to improve and preserve pastoral lands, to improve the existing breeds and to introduce new breeds and also some measures to discourage periodical migration of the shepherded people.

Regarding educational progress, the caste representatives estimated their literacy will not exceed 15% and during the last 30 years it cannot be said that these people have made any substantial progress, taking the State as a whole. In rural areas in view of the migratory habits of the shepherds and of the fact that even children are induced to look after their flock, literacy is bound to be poor. The figures given for typical villages in Ramanathapuram district bear out their poor educational progress. In the district of Ramanathapuram, which has the largest concentration of Yadavas, the representatives estimated that they do not have more than 50 graduates and not more than 25 in Government service. The position in Tirunelveli and Thanjavur may be slightly better. The representation received at Thanjavur claiming to give fairly accurate statistics gives the following figures in respect of Thanjavur Taluk alone -- Graduates, 50, Engineers 2, Doctors 5, Lawyers 4, and it also adds that 20% of these people are in Government jobs, 10% in business, 10% in some Company jobs, about 3 to 4% have migrated outside the State. The representation also mentions that there may be about 25 Gazetted Officers from Thanjavur district. It is regrettable that in spite of several representations from this caste from other districts, no accurate figures of education, employment were furnished outside Ramanathapuram and Thanjavur district.

Their achievement in education and employed as shown in the statistics is certainly not impressive. They are among the sluggards amongst the Backward Classes.

There appears to be large numbers of Telugu speaking Yadavas in Tirunelveli and the Arcot Districts and in Coimbatore. Several representations were made on their behalf at Tirunelveli. It appears they have been describing themselves as Vadugan and later on as Vaduga Ayans. "Vaduga Ayans" is not a term recognised in the Backward Classes list, though 'Ayan' denotes a shepherd and Vadugan is an omnibus term which is loosely used to cover many Telugu speaking castes. In view of this, they had difficulty in getting themselves recognised as a

Backward Class for scholarship and admission purposes. Of late they have been trying to describe themselves as Vaduga Idayars which also was not acceptable to the local revenue and educational officers. These Telugu speaking shepherded people till recently kept themselves aloof from their Tamil speaking brethren. But of late, identity is established and they are accepted on equal terms by the Tamil Yadavas. Since 1907 there was an entry 'Golla' in the list of Backward Classes. This appears to have been deleted in 1931. But the work 'Yadava' was substituted for Idayan and Golla. From the 1931 proceedings of the Government, it can be seen that the term 'Yadavas' was intended to cover both Golla and Idayans, i.e. the Telugu and Tamil speaking sub-castes. The representatives of the Golla community met the Commission at Pudukkottai and represented their grievances and prayed for inclusion of their caste under the category of Yadavas. The entry in the list may with greater propriety be amplified to read 'Yadava including Idayans and Telugu speaking Idayans known as Vaduga Ayan or Vaduga Idayar or Golla'.

#### YADAVA -- IDAIYAN

DISTRICTS	ESTIMATED POPULATION FOR 1971		
Madras	..	..	28,060
Chingleput	..	...	1,34,960
North Arcot	..	..	1,90,150
South Arcot	..	..	1,66,448
Coimbatore	..	..	27,218
Salem	..	..	26,834
Thanjavur	..	..	1,40,214
Tiruchirapalli	..	..	1,37,778
Madurai	..	..	99,592
Ramanathapuram	..	..	2,26,081
Tirunelveli	..	...	1,87,212
Kanyakumari	..	..	8,205
Nilgiris			494
			<hr/> 13,73,246

#### YOGEESWARA:

This figures as item 57 under most backward classes in the notification of the Director of Backward Classes and as item 176 in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list. Yogeeswara is another non-brahmin priest class doing temple service, garland making and flower selling.

The Commission has received many representations both oral and written from this community. The Commission met their representatives in various places during its tour to Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. The community has a statewide organisation with headquarters in Kanyakumari District. According to their representations, Yogeeswara is a generic name covering Yogi (Jogi) Sivayogi, Pulavar, Covamsam, Pandaram, Vairavis, Veerasivara and Vairayogi under its fold. Their memorandum very specifically mentions that Andipandarams do not belong to their caste. This suggests that Andipandarams are considered as an inferior class by them. Their population is distributed all over the State but with

concentration in Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. They are also found in large number in Salem and Coimbatore districts. Regarding their numerical size they claim a total population of 7 lakhs. This is a gross exaggeration. When it was pointed out to them that Yogeesswarar did not even figure in the census of 1921, they replied that their people are known by different caste names in different areas. In 1921 Census Andi and Pandarams accounted for 66,870 and 54,712 respectively. Since the Yogeesswarar disowned any connection with Andis, a very liberal estimate of yogeesswara population to-day cannot be more than one lakh. Those who live in Salem and Coimbatore districts speak Telugu while in the Southern districts Tamil is the common language.

According to their representation most of the people are employed as temple servants, mill workers, and coolies in construction work. Many of them are engaged in selling flowers and garlands. They admit that their people in Salem and Coimbatore districts are better placed economically, some of them prospering in trade and commerce.

They claim that they are educationally backward, but from the evidence given by them this cannot be considered so. In Kanyakumari district 50% of them are literates. There are many educated up to S.S.L.C.

There are about 23 graduates in Tirunelveli out of which 2 are engineers, 3 are doctors and 4 agricultural graduates and 50 graduates in Madurai, Ramanathapuram districts from this community. According to the oral evidence, there are not less than 100 graduates in total from this community, 5 advocates and 3 lady doctors. All these do not indicate that they are educationally very backward.

P A R T - I

- (ii) Notes on the castes not in the list of Backward Classes,  
but appeared before the Commission for inclusion.

## CASTES WHICH REQUESTED FOR INCLUSION IN THE LIST OF BACKWARD CLASSES.

Though this Commission by its terms of reference is restricted to the communities enumerated in the list of Backward Classes maintained by the Government of Tamil Nadu, a number of castes not included in the list approached us through written representations and also by seeking personal interviews. Personal interviews were given to all those who asked for such facilities and oral evidences were recorded. All of them were told that the Commission is precluded from considering their cases, but, nevertheless they requested that their representations should be sympathetically considered. In view of our terms of reference we could not possibly go deep into the merits of their cases, though, all their representations and oral evidences were examined carefully. We think it is sufficient for our purpose to record our impression in brief for each caste which approached us for the information of the Government and for such action as they consider appropriate.

### ADI SAIVAR.

Representation was made by the President, Adisaivar Sangam, Karur. Thurston describes these people as a sub-caste of Vellala and singers of Devaram in Saiva temples. They are also described as Oduvars. It is said that they are about 10,000 in population spread out mostly in villages, doing Pujas in Saiva temples with a monthly income ranging from Rs.5 to Rs.60. They claim to be Dravidians in origin. They also do puja in some other big temples in Thanjavur, Thiruvavur, Fort in Tiruchirappalli, Karur and Vennimalai. The President of Bar Association, Karur has also represented that these people are known as Archagas or Kurukkals and do pujas. This is a priestly section of the Vellala caste and its classification as a Backward Class would involve the admission of the Vellalas as a Backward Class.

### ARIYA VAISYAS.

Representatives of Ariya Vaisya Community met the Commission at Vellore and Madurai. Thiru S.A. Viswanathan, I.A.S. (Retired) presented a memorandum and gave evidence before the Commission at Madras. The community has a well organised association called "Ariya Vaisyas Mahajana Sangam". Its constituent units in the district level have also represented in the form of replies to the questionnaire. The community has undertaken some sort of a socio-economic survey in several places and has sent copies of them to us.

They claim a population of 15 lakhs for the State as a whole. This is a gross exaggeration and it cannot exceed 2 lakhs. It is well known that the Ariya Vaisyas also known as Komati Chettis are generally regarded as a prosperous trading community. Nevertheless they represent that they are educationally very backward that they have very little share in Government Services. More than 50 per cent of them are engaged as traders and there are a number of rich merchants in the community. Number engaged in agriculture may not be substantial but even here all of them are land-holders. People working as agricultural labourers from the community are rare. Their women do not go out for work.

The fact that their socio-economic conditions are not very poor justifying inclusion in the list of Backward Classes can be substantiated even from the statistics given in their survey reports. Few such



cases taken at random are given below:-

Dindigul:

Total population	..	1530
Literates	..	1000
S.S.L.C. holders	..	80
College educated	..	70
Studying in College	..	70

Out of about 300 families, 10 are getting an average income of Rs.12,000 per annum, 25 are getting Rs.6,000 per annum, 100 are getting Rs.4,000 per annum, and the rest are getting Rs.1,200 and less.

Bodinaikanur:

Total population	..	153
Literates	..	129
S.S.L.C. holders	..	11
College educated	..	5
Studying in College	..	2

Andipatti - Madurai district:

Total population	..	482
Literates	..	409
Studied upto S.S.L.C.	..	33
College educated	..	14
Studying in College	..	6

Out of 71 families, 2 are getting income more than Rs.12,000 per annum, 6 are getting more than Rs.6,000 per annum and 33 are getting more than Rs.3,800.

Devaram - Madurai district:

Total population	..	355
Literates	..	280
S.S.L.C. holders	..	56
College educated	..	9
Studying in College now	..	3

Out of 70 families, 35 are getting income more than Rs.700 per annum.

Kambam - Madurai district:

Total population	..	287
Literates	..	183
S.S.L.C. holders	..	30
College educated	..	14
Presently studying	..	5

Out of 58 families, 26 are getting more than Rs.3,800 per annum.

Anamalai - Coimbatore district:

Total population	..	228
Literates	..	206
S.S.L.C. holders	..	32
College educated	..	10
Presently studying	..	11

Out of 43 families, 4 are getting more than Rs.12,000 per annum and another 23 are getting more than Rs.3,800 per annum.

The statistical data shown above taken from their own representations evidently show that this community is not backward either economically or educationally. Socially also they are well placed. Their plea for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes is not justified.

#### BRAHMIN.

A representation received by the Government from one Thiru R. Subramaniam of Thanjavur district was forwarded to the Commission for consideration. It is stated that even among Brahmins there are people whose economic status is very low. The memorandum pleads for extending educational and other concessions to children from Brahmin community as well. No observation is made.

#### KANNADIAR AND KANNADA SAINEEGAR.

There is an entry in the Backward Classes list for Kannadiar. The Kannada Saineeagar claim that this entry refer to them, but the educational and appointment authorities deny them the benefit of the entry because they normally use the term, Kannada Saineeagar. A representation received by the Government from the Tamil Nadu Kannada Saineeagar Samoooga Sangam, Madras was forwarded to the Commission. That Sangam also made a representation claiming for their people a population of roughly under 30,000. Their concentration appears to be in Chingleput, South Arcot, Thanjavur and Salem districts. They are mostly agriculturists and some of them have taken to weaving as well. Those who are engaged in weaving call themselves Senior. As the term Kannadiar occurring in the list would indicate all who speak Kannada, its scope is not definitive. In view of this, even lingayats and others whose mother-tongue is Kannada have occasionally claimed to be Kannadiars. We had several oral representations from this community. All of them have bitterly complained because they call themselves Kannada Saineeagar or Kannada Senior, they are deprived of Backward Class concessions. The community's educational economic and social progress is definitely that of a backward class. It would be carrying out the intention of the Government at the time the entry was made, if it is worded more specifically as denoting Kannada Saineeagar.

#### KAMBAR (PARI SAIVERS).

When the Commission toured Kanyakumari district, a deputation on behalf of Kambar (Pari Saiver) Caste appeared before the Commission. Thiru T. Venkatachalam, President of the caste Association presented a detailed memorandum and replies to the questionnaire, pleading for inclusion of the caste Kambar in the list Backward Classes. It was stated that the Association had been representing their case to the Government from 1958 onwards.

It is seen from the memorandum that this is a small caste having a total population about 2,000 but chiefly concentrated in Kanyakumari district. It is stated that there are only about 200 families living in Kanyakumari district. Their traditional occupation is playing Nagaswaram and Thavil, and even to-day most people are stated to depend on this for their livelihood. They are akin to the Isaivellalas of Tamil Nadu. Educationally they are stated to be very backward; altogether there are about a dozen S.S.L.C. holders and one or two have taken B.A. degree. Even the few who are educated are without jobs. In spite of the fact that the general educational standard in Kanyakumari district is high, it is complained that this caste has not progressed will mainly due to the fact that they were not getting any help from the Government. A handful of them are stated to be in Government service but mostly as Last Grade

Servants. Economically, with no other source of income other than the paltry income of about Rs.40 to Rs.50 per mensem by playing Nathaswaram in small temples, their plight is stated to be very miserable. From the evidence available, it should be said that the representation of this caste must receive sympathetic consideration.

#### KARKATHA VELLALA.

Representatives of Karkatha Vellala community met the Commission at Nagercoil and Kattumannargudi. They merely pleaded for including them under Backward Classes. Kar Katha Vellala cannot be said to be a Backward Class socially, economically and educationally. They are a prosperous agricultural class, most of them owning lands. They are vegetarian and their social position is high. They have not sent replies to the Questionnaire for furnished statistical information about their socio-economic condition and educational standard. No recommendations are made.

#### KALVELI GOUNDAR.

A memorandum was submitted by Thiru S. Perumal Goundar, Panchayat Board, Adalur, Madurai district requesting that Kalveli Goundars should be included in the list of Backward Classes. It is stated that these people live in Nilakottai division and in some other villages of Madurai district. It is claimed that Kalveli Goundars form a very Backward Class socially and economically. No statistical information about their socio-economic condition and occupational standard has been given; but, it is stated that there are no engineering or medical graduates or a Gazetted Officer from that community. Without making further enquiry it is difficult to say anything decisively. Detailed information was not furnished in their memorandum. We are unable to make any positive recommendation at this stage.

#### KARUNEEGAR.

Replies to questionnaire were received from Seer Karuneegar Sangam ( தர் கருநீகர் சங்கம் ) North Arcot district and Secretary, Tamil Nadu Village Officials Association, Madras, pleading for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes. Their representatives also met the Commission at several places in North Arcot district.

One representation claimed that Karunigars in the State would constitute 3 lakhs and another estimated at 50,000. This is a gross exaggeration and as their representatives have admitted while giving evidences before the Commission, they form a small group of 10,000 people chiefly found in North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput districts. They claim that nearly 90 per cent of their men folk work as Village Kachams and only few of them are small land owners. They contend that the entry Ganika in the list of Backward Classes refers to the Karuneegar only and that in spite of this, they find it difficult to obtain certificates for concessions. It must be said that Ganika does not refer to Karuneegar. Ganika is a Telugu name for oil pressors equivalent to Tamil Vaniyan.

They are scattered in groups of two or three families in many villages and small towns. Their literacy standard is high and they have been working as village Kachams, clerks in trading establishments and as teachers. It may be true that in spite of their higher literacy at the S.S.L.C. Standard, their economic condition and their position in government service are not above the level of other Backward Classes. Socially their position is not at all considered low. Their claim for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes is not tenable.

KAYATHU KARA CHETTY.

A representative of this community met the Commission and gave evidence at Mayavaram. He requested for the inclusion of this community in the list of Backward Classes. Their mother tongue is Tamil and it is stated that they are also called as 'Kavarai'. No statistics have been furnished. It is suggested that their request may be examined after consultation with Collectors.

KONGU VELLALA GOUNDER OR NATTU VELLALA GOUNDER.

Some representatives of Vellala Gounder from Madras sent replies to our questionnaire. They have stated that Chendalai Gounder, Padarthalai Gounder, Padarthalai Gounder, Narammukkatti Gounder and Nattu Gounder are the sub-divisions of Vellala Gounders. It is stated that they reside in Salem district in large groups. Some representatives of Kongu Nattu Vellalar caste met the Commission and gave evidence at Salem. It is stated that Kongu Vellala or Nattu Vellala is a branch of Vellala Gounder community. In this connection attention is invited to our note under Vellala Gounder.

KUNCHIDIGAR.

During the Commission's tour in Dharmapuri district, the representatives of Kunchidigar caste met the Commission at Adiamankottai and pleaded for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes. Kunchidigars are a class of cultivators who had migrated to the Tamil country from Mysore. They speak Kanarees. They are concentrated in Marandahalli, Osur and Dhengunikottai and their population is about 15,000 for the whole Dharmapuri district. They plead that their caste was treated as a Backward Class in Mysore State. It is claimed that they are farm labourers and cattle breeders as well and that there are only 3 graduates from this community. Widows in this community are allowed to marry. Their economic and social status appears to be low. Their case may be considered sympathetically.

INNOTHU CHETTIAR.

Representation was received from the Secretary, Innothu Chettiar Ilaingar Sangam, Avinashi pleading for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes. Their representatives met the Commission at Coimbatore and stated that their total population would be around 3,000. It is claimed that their educational standard is very low with only 4 or 5 graduates and that only 10 per cent of them are educated upto S.S.L.C. Occupationally they are engaged in petty trade. They claim kinship with Kongu Chettiar which already figures as a Backward Class. Hence there is no need for making an additional entry.

MALAYAN SALIYAR.

Representatives of this caste met the Commission and gave evidence at Nagercoil. They have stated that their occupation is weaving. Kudumbi Saliyar, Valliyur Saliyur, Malayan Saliyar are branches of Salaiyar. They have stated that they have not enjoyed any concession and that they are poor. Saliyar is found in the general list of Backward Classes. It may not be difficult for the Malayan Saliyar people to get a certificate as Saliyar. Therefore it is not necessary to amplify the community Saliyar by including the Malayan Saliyar.

### MUSLIMS OTHER THAN LABBAIS.

Though Labbai amongst Muslims alone is in the list of Backward Classes (excluding however the two other minor sub-divisions of Muslims, namely Dadekula and Mappilla), representations were received on behalf of the Muslim community in general as well as from Urdu speaking Muslims. Whatever might have been the connotation of the term when the entry was first made in the list as we have observed in Chapter-I itself, in practice the term Labbai is interpreted as covering all Tamil-speaking Muslims, notwithstanding the existence of different groups like Rowthars and Maracairs. The representatives on behalf of the Muslims claimed that the community is indivisible and that all Muslims should be treated alike. The representations on behalf of Urdu-speaking Muslims, oral as well as written, pleaded that Urdu speaking Muslims, are as badly as, if not worse off than, their Tamil speaking brethren and that they should not be denied the privileges now extended to Labbais only. This point of view has been elaborated in the note on Labbai on Volume-II, Part-I.

### NAGARATHAR:

Representation has been received from Nagarathar community for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes. Their representatives also met the Commission at Madurai and Salem. They say that they belong to the Nagarathar class referred to in Silapathikaram who were living in Poombuhar City. They now plead that, though there might be some rich people in this community, there is a bigger section in this caste whose socio-economic conditions are very poor, justifying treatment as a backward class. They have not given necessary statistical data in support of their claim. Even otherwise it is a known fact that Nagarathu Chettiars form a wealthy class of traders, industrialists and money-lenders. Their social position is very high and therefore there seems to be no justification for treating Nagarathar as a backward class.

### OVACHAR.

Secretary, Tamil Nadu Ovachar Sangam, Ramanathapuram sent a representation in the form of replies to the questionnaire pleading for inclusion of Ovachar community in the list of Backward Classes. Their representatives also met the Commission at Madurai. They claim a population of 10,000 in the whole State but are chiefly found in Ramanathapuram and Thanjavur districts. Their traditional occupation is temple service and they officiate as Poojaris. Nowadays they work as agricultural labourers and coolies. Their educational standard is low. It is claimed that there is only one graduate from the community and no one has taken a professional degree so far.

Ovachars is actually an old Tamilian community and is similarly socially to the Kamban community of the Kanyakumari district. They have pleaded for inclusion under the Most Backward Classes which seem reasonable.

### PANNIRANDAM CHETTIAR OR UTHAMA CHETTIAR.

A memorandum received from Thiru R. Vaiyapuri, Namakkal taluk, claims that it is a very small community consisting of not more than 100 families and mostly confined to Salem district. It is claimed that barring a handful of them who are employed as Elementary School teachers and Government Subordinate Service, the rest are all employed as coolies.

He pleads for inclusion of the caste in the list of Most Backward Classes. Government may decide the case after further verification.

#### PULAVAN.

A written memorandum was received from one Thiru K. Dhandapani, Avanashi stating that there are few people belonging to Pulavan community residing at Avinashi, Palladam, Gobichettipalayam of Coimbatore district and that these people are most backward in all respects. Detailed information has not been given in the absence of which no observation could be made. "Pulavan" has an extensive meaning beyond a caste description and cannot be accepted as denoting a caste.

#### PALAYAKKARAR.

A memorandum was received from the President, Panchayat Union, Pennagar, South Arcot **pleading** for inclusion of Palayakkarar in the list of Backward Classes. Their representatives met the Commission at Vallam and stated that Palayakkarars are also otherwise called as Rajakulavanniar claiming kinship with Vanniars. They requested that all the concessions given to Vanniars must also be extended to them. Since it admitted that Rajakulavanniar or Palayakkarar is a small sect among Vanniars with free mixing among them, there does not seem to be any need for making a new entry now.

#### PANAN.

The representatives of 'Panans' community met the Commission at Madurai and pleaded for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes. They also sent representation in the form of replies to the Questionnaire. They claim a population of 15,000 for the whole State. They call themselves as 'Pandiya Vellala' and claim that 'Pandiya Vellala' and 'Panans' are same. This is one of the illustrations of small communities, which are really very backward, but in their anxiety to elevate their social position, assume names like 'Vellalas' and Pillais'. 'Panans' are found in Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. In 1891 Census Report, it has been classified as a Scheduled Caste, and their population was estimated at 1,672 for Tamil Nadu alone. Even now Panans of Kanyakumari and Shencottah taluk are treated as a Scheduled Caste. But the Panans in the other districts like Madurai, Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram, where they are scattered are not entitled to any concession.

The Panans in Madurai, Ramanathapuram district have marriage connections with Panans of Kanyakumari district. It is but fair, that Panans should find a place in the Tamil Nadu list also as a Backward Class.

#### RATHNAGIRI VELLALA.

Representation was received in the form of reply to the Questionnaire from the President, Rathnagiri Vellalar Sangam, Coimbatore-17 requesting for inclusion under Most Backward Classes. They claim a population of 2,500 and all of them live in Coimbatore division of that district. From their representation it is seen that they are a cultivating class and there are land lords, tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers, in this community as in any other cultivating community. Their average annual earning are stated to range from a minimum of Rs.600 to 5,000 per annum. They claim that there are only 2 graduates from the community and 12 persons in Government service. All of them are holding Non-Gazetted positions. Though their educational standard may be poor, their social position is not low. There seems to be no justification for including them under Backward Classes.

SAKRAVAR.

Representation was received for Sakravar Mahajana Sangam. It is seen that Sakravar people are concentrated only in Kanyakumari district. According to the representation, they numbered about 15,000 and their traditional occupation is barbering. It is claimed that their educational and socio-economic conditions are poor and hence it should be included in the list of Backward Classes. However, it should be said that this caste is treated a Backward Class for purposes of fee concession. The grievances that it does not figure in the Kanyakumari list is since rectified as could be soon in Section ii of Chapter XI.

SAVALAKARAN.

A memorandum was received from Thiru K.A.P. Muthu, Secretary, Savalakara Samuga Sangam, Kuniamuthur, Coimbatore district by the Commission. Their representatives also met the Commission during its tour in Coimbatore district. The main grievance of the representation is that Savalakaran Caste is treated as a Backward Class in Kanyakumari district and this concession should be extended to the Savalakarans living in Coimbatore district. According to the statistics given in the memorandum these people are concentrated in few villages in Coimbatore district numbering about 1,000. Even from their representation, it cannot be said that their educational standard is very poor. However it is claimed that their economic condition is poor to justify the inclusion in the Backward Class list. The Government after making further verification may extend the concessions if justified.

SAYAKARAN.

Representation in the form of replies to Questionnaire has been received from one A. Madaswamy, pleading for including Sayakaran in the list of Backward Classes. It is stated that the Sayakarans form a separate group and are concentrated in view villages of Kanyakumari district. The main occupation of the people is said to be dyeing and printing of cloth. Some are employed as coolies and agricultural labourers. In all, they account for only 624. They claim that their educational standard is very low and only 30 of them are literates, with 2 graduates. Five persons from this community are employed as school teachers and 4 are working in Government service.

From their representation it is evident that they are a poor lot deserving sympathy. But the list would become very unwieldy if a number of such small communities are included. Besides, Sayakaran is not a caste by itself. It is only an occupational term referring to people who are engaged in dyeing. In view of the fact that their traditional occupation is closely related to weaving they have a claim to be treated on a par with other weaving communities. Government may ask Collectors of Southern districts for detailed information.

SCHOLAPURAM CHETTIAR.

The President, "Sholapuram Chettiar Kalvi Abiviruthi Sangam" represented in the form of replies to the Questionnaire pleading for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes. He stated that the Chettians living in Kumbakonam, Nagapattinam and Mayuram taluks in Thanjavur district and Udayarpalayam in Tiruchirappalli district numbering about 3,500 are known by the name Sholapuram Chettians. Though it is represented that this group of people are socially and economically very backward, the information contained in their memorandum does not justify it. It is seen that most of them are petty traders in cloth and allied products.

Few of them are land holders. Women do not go out for work. It is stated that their average annual income is about Rs.1,000. Even those who are stated to be farm workers get income not less than Rs.500. This cannot be considered low, when compared to the plight of many other Backward Classes. They say that their education standard is low, but even from their statement it is seen that there are 5 engineering graduates, 10 graduates, 1 doctor and 3 lawyers. For a population of 3,500 this should be taken as a good performance in education. They have not made any convincing case.

#### SOZHIA VELLALA.

The Vellala community is the main cultivating class owning lands all over Tamil Nadu. There are a number of regional divisions among Vellalas, each one taking some name which has territorial significance. One such sub-division is Sozhia Vellala. Representation in the form of replies to the Questionnaire was received from 'Thondamandala Sozhia Vellala. Representation in the form of replies to the Questionnaire was received from 'Thondamandala Sozhia Vellala Kalvi Samooga Abiviruthi Sangam, Madras-4' pleading for inclusion of their caste under Backward Classes. It is stated that this particular group is living in Chingleput and Madras districts with a population of 4,500. It is claimed that in the rural areas they are working as tenant farmers, and in towns and cities they work as drivers, masons and employees in printing Press. Their educational standard is said to be poor and they claim that there are no graduates, engineers and doctors from their community.

Their representatives also met the Commission at Madras. They claim that their people live only in Madras and Chingleput districts and do not have any connection with the Sozhia Vellalas of Tiruchy district. Some people claiming to belong to Sozhia Vellala Community met the Commission at Thanjavur and Kumbakonam. They were not able to say anything about their connection with the Sozhia Vellalas of Chingleput and Madras districts. Without making a detailed enquiry into the social, economic conditions of these people it is difficult to say anything clearly about their claim.

#### VELLAMBAR.

One representative of this community met the Commission at Pudukkottai and gave evidence. He has stated that the population of Vellambar community is about one lakh spread over in Karaikudi and Thanjavur also. His main grievance was that with the decline of Nagarathars migration to far East countries, many of their people lost there profession of cooking and during domestic service. He pleaded that this community should be included in the list of Backward Classes.

In 1931 census, Vellambar population is given as 9404 as far as Pudukkottai State was concerned. The Government may consider the request of this community after detailed verification.

#### VEDAN.

A representation was received on behalf of 'Vedan', Vettuvan or Vettaikaran. They are all stated to be employed in basket making, bamboo working, hunting small games, and working as coolies. Their main grievance is that they should be included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. They point out the fact that their counterparts in Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk are treated as Scheduled Tribe (item No.8, Malai Vedan) and enjoy greater educational and other concessions there. They claim kinship with the Malai Vedan of Kanyakumari district and request to be treated as a Scheduled Tribe in other parts of Tamil Nadu as well.



The Commission could do very little in this regard. However, after verifying whether these people bear tribal features, Government may perhaps take up the issue with the Government of India.

When the Commission toured Tirunelveli district, another representation was made by some people describing themselves as 'Vaduvar'. They claim descent from 'Nambirajan'. A representation in the form of replies to Questionnaire was also received from one Dr. K.J. Mathiram, Erul, Tirunelveli district. There can be little dispute about their socio-economic and educational backwardness. But from the information given by them about their caste, it looks they are similar to Koravas. They say that Kall Korava, Uppu Korava, Thomala Korava, Veduvar are all sub-divisions among them. At present there is no entry in the list of Backward Classes referring to Veduvar or Vedan as such. To enable these people, who are really backward by any standard, to enjoy Government concessions the entry in the list 'Vettaikaran' may be amplified to include 'Vedan' also (item No. 53 Most Backward Class and item 173 Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list).

#### NEW CASTES.

##### VELLALAS.

"The Vellala Perumakkal Sangam" met the Commission and gave evidence at Madurai. They wanted to include even the Vellalas of Tirunelveli district and the Saivite Mudaliars. They also said that Veerakodi Vellalas and Pandia Vellalas are included in the "Vellala Caste". Taking the Vellala Community as a whole, they are not backward.

##### NANJILNADU VELLALA.

A representative of this community met the Commission at Nagercoil and pleaded for the inclusion of the Community in the list of Backward Classes, as they were treated as Backward in the erst-while Travancore and Cochin State.

##### VELLALA GOUNDER.

Representation in the form of detailed replies to the Questionnaire was received from one Thiru Perumal, B.A., Madras-4 on behalf of 'Vellala Goundar'. The representation claims a total population of 10 lakhs for Vellala Goundars, mostly living in villages. It is claimed that 60 per cent of the people are small land holders with an annual income ranging from Rs.1,000 to 3,000 per annum. 30 per cent of them are tenant cultivators with an income between Rs.500 and 2,000 per annum. Only 10 per cent of them are working as agricultural labourers, with an annual income of less than Rs.850. 40 per cent of the people are stated to be literates. In Salem district alone there are 500 graduates, 50 Engineers and 10 Doctors according to the representation. In Government services, about 150 persons are employed with at Gazetted and Non-Gazetted level and 1200 are employed in private sector undertakings. For the State as a whole, there are about 150 Gazetted Officers from this community. Even relying on this information given in the representation about the community's educational and economic standard, there is absolutely no justification for including this caste under Backward Classes.

When the Commission toured Coimbatore district, some representatives of Goundar community from Veppangal village represented their case. They made a plea that all of them are agricultural labourers and during off season they go to the nearby forest, collect fire wood and sell them in the market. It is quite possible that Goundars living

In addition to these castes which appeared before the Commission, representations have been received by the Government from time to time and such cases were referred to the Commission by the Government.

#### KANNAR COMMUNITY.

Representation was made to the Government by K. Vijayakumar and S. Shanmugam of Coimbatore district claiming that Kannar community is very backward, economically and socially. The Collectors reported that Kannar community is a sub-caste of Kammalan and that their main occupation is repairing and manufacturing of brass and copper vessels.

Socially and economically also they have been found to be very backward in almost all districts. However, since Kannar is only a sub-caste of Kammalan community which is already there in the list, the grievance of the community people will be met by amplifying the entry of Kammalan, so as to include the Kannar community also.

#### SALIVAGANA.

In Salem district it was brought to the notice of the Collector that a student could not secure a community certificate since his caste name was entered as Salivaganan in the birth register and also in his school certificate. Salivaganan is claimed to be only another name for Kulala in some parts of Salem. The same caste assuming different names is nothing peculiar to potters. It is not desirable to include all such synonymous names in the list of Backward classes. District officials issuing certificates must use their discretion in identifying whether an applicant, though claiming to belong to one of the sub-castes or using a rare synonym, really comes from one of the castes listed as Backward Classes. No special inclusion is necessary.

#### SERVAI OF COIMBATORE DISTRICT.

Representation was made by Thiru K.A.P. Muthu, President, Servai community Association, Kuniamuthur. It is claimed that there are about 262 Servai families living in that district. Most of these people are stated to be cooly workers in Mills and factories, and only a handful of their children get the benefit of collegiate education. The special Tahsildar of Harijan Welfare department after verifying the living conditions of these people reported that they were a poor and Backward Class.

Another representation was received by the Government from Tirachirappalli district. A boy's caste name was entered as Servai in the School certificate. His father complained that he belonged to Muthuraja caste, but he could not secure community certificate since Servai was not included in the list of Backward Classes.

Servai is only a title and not a caste name. In fact people from Thondaman, Agamudaiyan, Kallar and Ambalakaran communities use this title. Hence to include a title under Backward Classes will lead to complications. Once this is done, claims from various other castes will also pour in.

#### ASTHANDRA GOLLA.

Asthandra Golla Samugam, Guniamuthur, Coimbatore district represented to the Government for including the Asthandra Golla community in the list of Backward Classes.

The representatives of 'Asthanthara Golla community met the Commission at Coimbatore and explained that their caste people are cattle rearers and shepherds like 'Yadava'. 'Yadava' is a Sanskrit name, but commonly used all over India and 'Golla' is a Telugu name for people

in a particular village may be poor and educationally backward. Taking the Goundar community as a whole they are not backward.

It must also be stated that no representation was made by any recognised organisation on behalf of this caste from the districts of Salem, Coimbatore where they are to be found in large numbers.

#### VEERASAIVA LINGAYATS.

Representative of Canarese speaking Veerasaiva Lingayats met the Commission at Arni, Villupuram and Coimbatore. Besides, they have sent representation in the form of replies to the questionnaire. They claim a total population of 60,900 with concentration in Dharmapuri and Nilgiris districts. Small groups of Kannada Veerasaiva Sainegar are also found in several places of South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput districts. Their main occupation is stated to be agriculture, but some have taken to weaving also. Their average income according to the representation ranges from Rs.2,000 to 3,000 p.a. which cannot be considered low by Indian Standards. Their literacy standard is about 50%. But they say there are only 2 or 3 graduates from their community in Coimbatore district.

Many of them in North Arcot district have taken to weaving and there are many prosperous Master Weavers from this community. In the Weaving Profession their economic condition is better than that of other weaving communities. Generally, they are regarded as a wealthy class. Even in agriculture though they claim that only one per cent of them would be land holders, as a whole they are a prosperous agricultural class. Socially, they are well placed. Therefore, their claim for inclusion in the list of backward class is of doubtful validity.

#### YAVANAS.

The representatives of the "Tamil Nadu Yavana Kula Mahasangam", Tindivanam, said that their caste is represented as Kuravan (S.C.), Vettaikkaran (B.C. in Thanjavur district only) Kuravachettiar, etc., in the list. But they have given this name at the time of admission of their children into the schools, it is now very difficult for them to change their caste name as Kuravan, etc. They said that their caste is represented as Yavanas in 1961 census. They further said that as their caste is more or less the same as Kuravans, they should be given all the concessions given to Harijans. They said that they are in large numbers in South Arcot district, Tindivanam, Chidambaram, Katpadi, etc. Their original profession is stated to be "Basket making". Now they are working as agriculturists and some people are working in Offices and workshops. They also said that some children are studying upto P.U.C. and there is none is graduates. They further emphasised that they are using this name as Yavanas from 1912 and they are using this name in documents also. They request that they should be treated as Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes under the description "Yavanars". They request that in the 1971 census they should be recorded as Yavanas.

It is suggested that their request may be examined further in consultation with Collectors.

Representations were also received from the following communities. The Commission has no special remarks to offer except the mention that has been made about them in the District tour notes and in our assessment Chapter.

- (1) Kerala Mudali.
- (2) Thoraiyar.
- (3) Thottiya Naicker.
- (4) Thozhuva Naicker.

whose traditional occupation is cattle rearing. Both these terms are well known as describing the shepherds caste. They brought to the notice of the Commission that, based on their representation to the Government, orders were passed in 1961 to treat the 'Asthanthra Golla' community equivalent to 'Yadava'. It has been indicated in the Government Order that a final decision would be taken after the report of Sri R.A. Gopalaswamy was submitted.

The representatives claimed that their caste people were enjoying Government concessions on the basis of the order referred to above, but recently these concessions have been stopped. Therefore, they plead that the benefits should be extended to them as in the past and their community should be included in the list of Backward Classes. The community has also sent a detailed representation in the form of replies to the questionnaire. Their population is small, numbering about 7,000 and chiefly found in Coimbatore, Thanjavur and Viraly hills of Tiruchirappalli district. It is claimed that nearly 65 per cent of their people are working as coolies and only less than 1 per cent of them are land-holders. There are about 12 graduates from this community, 5 of whom are Engineers. About 20 are employed in Government Service; there is one gazetted officer and the rest are all employed as clerks, and teachers. 2 post-graduates belonging to this community had gone abroad for higher studies. The general body of Asthanthra Golla Sangam at Guniamuthur, Coimbatore, met on 2nd May 1970 and passed a resolution to the effect that the association is agreeable to treat Asthanthra Golla as part of Yadava community.

They had been enjoying the concessions for some time and subsequently they have been stopped. It is true that their educational, social and economic conditions are similar to the Yadava of Tamil Nadu. Their plea for including their caste as part of Yadava community seems to be reasonable. Therefore, the entry 'Yadava' may be amplified to include Asthanthra Golla also.

#### VELLAN CHETTIAR.

A memorandum was submitted to the Government by Vellan Chettiar community association. It is claimed that they form a cultivating class and educationally and socially to be very backward. The memorandum states that they are chiefly found in Salem, Coimbatore, South Arcot, and Madurai districts, and constitute a population of 20,000 for the whole State. Their educational standard is stated to be low and only about 400 had studied upto S.S.L.C. with 2 or 3 Engineers, 1 Doctor and 2 Advocates. Most of these people are said to live in villages working in farms on daily wages.

The Collector of Salem who verified the living conditions of these people reported that Vellan Chettiars have originated from "Vellala". According to the Collector, a group of Vellalas who are engaged in retail business, formed themselves into a group and styled themselves as Vellan Chettiars. The Collector of Salem has given a detailed account of them. According to him, there are 10,700 people in Salem district. Their main occupation is to purchase food grains, cotton and oil seeds from the agriculturists and sell them in Chandis as retailers. The average per capita income of them according to the Collector is Rs.1,000. The relevant portion of Collector's letter is reproduced below:-

"So, in all aspects they are far below the standard and they deserve encouragement by way of granting of the concessions eligible for Backward Classes people.

Hence, I recommend that the community Vellan Chettiars may be included under Backward Classes".

Collector, Coimbatore, reported that Vellan Chettiar is just like Vaniya Chettiar and 24 Manai Chettiar which are classified as Backward Classes. They are not advanced either economically, socially or educationally. Most of them are small merchants dealing in foodgrains and cotton. Educationally they have not made any progress.

Since the Collectors have reported, strongly recommending the inclusion of Vellan Chettiar in the list of Backward Classes, there seems to be justification for doing so.

#### ARCHAKARAI VELLALA.

Archakarai Vellala people made a representation to the Government in 1969 pleading for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes. When the Commission toured Thanjavur district the representatives of Archakarai Vellala caste met the Commission at Thiruvavur. They represented that their population is only 10,000 and that they are confined to only 30 villages in Tiruthuraiipoondi and Nagapattinam divisions. They have also sent replies to the questionnaire in detail.

It is seen from their representation that they form a small caste and that their socio-economic conditions are very poor. They say that like Scheduled Caste people, their people live in isolation in Villages. They are also treated as untouchables by the Caste people. They plead that they are not allowed to enter Hindu temples even to-day. Brahmins do not conduct marriages in this community and it is the Pandarams belonging to the same community who act as Prohibits. It seems, they have also made a representation to the Government in 1968 for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes.

They have given complete statistical data about the size of the caste, and its distribution in 30 villages. There are 7 elementary school teachers, 2 Gram Sevaks, 2 Typists, 1 Veterinary Assistant and 1 Health Assistant from this community. They plead for inclusion of their caste in the list of Backward Classes, which is reasonable.

#### ANUPPA GOUNDER.

Government received a memorandum from Thiru T.T.S. Thippia, M.A., Gondamathur, Coimbatore district. It was stated that they form a cultivating class with Kanarese as their mother tongue. It was reported to the Government that these people live only in Coimbatore, Pollachi and Udumalpet taluks of Coimbatore district. Those with collegiate education and in Government service are stated to be very few from this community.

The representatives of this community also met the Commission at Coimbatore. Replies to the questionnaire also have been received from them. They claim a total population of 80,000 with concentration in Coimbatore, Madurai and Tirunelveli districts. This is a gross exaggeration. In 1891 census, they have been returned as a class of Canarese speaking cultivators numbering 9,664, in Tamil districts. Even if we make a very liberal estimate their size cannot be more than 30,000 at present.

It is claimed that they live only in villages and all of them are either tenant cultivators or agricultural coolies. Even according to the representation, their annual average income is Rs.1,000 which is not

low by Indian standard. Detailed information has not been given about their literacy and educational standard. But it is stated that there are about 75 persons holding degrees and higher qualifications. There are 2 gazetted officers from this community. Compared to many other small Backward Classes already in the list, the achievement of this community is not meagre. Since they belong to the cultivating class, there is no taboo attached to their occupation. Without making through enquiry about their living conditions there is no justification in conceding to their request.

#### JAINS.

Government received a representation from the Secretary, Tamil Nadu Jains Association in 1969 stating that the Jains were enjoying educational concessions till 1939. He has pleaded for inclusion in the list.

The representatives of the Jains met the Commission at Cheyyar and Vellore pleading for inclusion in the Backward Classes list. The Jains are in small numbers in the North Arcot district. Their representatives have stated that their community was in the list of Backward Classes before 1939. They were told to establish this and explain the reasons for the removal of their caste from the list. They were also advised to supply information to the questionnaire in proper detail. In their evidence they stated that there will be about 1,000 S.S.L.C. holders, 50 graduates and 3 or 4 Engineering graduates. A handful of them are employed in Government Service holding gazetted positions. They are chiefly found in few villages in the North Arcot district. Most of them in villages are land-holders. For a small community with a total population of 20,000 these are good achievements and their plea for inclusion in the list is not reasonable.

#### CHETTY COMMUNITY OF KANYAKUMARI DISTRICT.

Thiru ~~Eranivel~~ Ravi, Advocate, from Kanyakumari district represented to the Government pointing out the discrepancy in the list of Backward Classes maintained for Kanyakumari district. The entry, Chetty, is found in Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list but had been omitted in the list maintained for admission into professional colleges.

This omission will be rectified when the common list is drawn by the Commission.

#### FISHERMEN, BARBERS AND WASHERMEN FOR INCLUSION UNDER THE SCHEDULED CASTES.

This was examined by the Commission at some length and our view are recorded in the notes relating to these castes. In view of the diversity of practice in other States to whom reference was made, it may not be easy to persuade the Government of India to include them in the Scheduled. A consolidated statement of the position in the various States is given as follows:-

Name of the State,	Name of the castes		
	Barbers'	Dhobies	Fishermen
Andhra Pradesh	--	--	--
Assam	Other Backward Classes.	Scheduled Caste.	Hindus-Scheduled Caste, Muslims-Other Backward Classes.
Bihar	Other Backward Classes.	Scheduled Caste.	--
Gujarat	--	--	--
Jammu & Kashmir	--	--	--
Kerala	Other Backward Classes.	Scheduled Caste.	Scheduled Caste.
Madhya Pradesh	--	Scheduled Caste.	--
Maharashtra	Other Backward Classes.	Other Backward Classes.	Other Backward Classes.
Orissa	--	Scheduled Caste.	Coastal Fishermen only treated as Scheduled Caste.
Punjab	Other Backward Classes.	Other Backward Classes.	--
Pondicherry	--	--	--
Rajasthan	Other Backward Classes.	Other Backward Classes.	--
Uttar Pradesh	Other Backward Classes.	Scheduled Caste.	--
West Bengal	--	Scheduled Caste.	--

#### CHRISTIANS - CONVERTS FROM SCHEDULED CASTES.

The question is the treatment to be extended to converts to Christianity particularly from the Scheduled Castes. At present they are eligible for all the Harijan Concessions regarding education as an 'eligible' community. The spokesmen of these people who appeared before us expressed their sense of frustration over the wording of the entry in the Backward Classes list which confines the scope as far as reservation in services and admission to educational institutions to only 'self-converts'. In a separate note on Christians the question has been dealt with at some length. Their most important request is that all converts from Scheduled Castes irrespective of the generation of conversion should be entitled to share in the reservation for Backward Classes. Though the population of the Christians can be estimated from Census figures, there is no means of calculating the population of Scheduled Castes converts separately. From the numerous representations

which were received from various Christian Organisations, no information could be collected about their population or advancement in education and employment. It is generally claimed that Christian converts live in the same cheries side by side with their Hindu brethren, and perform the same traditional occupations. While there may be some progress in the field of elementary education, the converts, it is claimed, have not made as much progress in high school education or collegiate education as their Hindu brethren. For this no blame could be attached to Government since all educational concessions including residential and non-residential scholarships and fee exemptions are given to them on a par with the Scheduled Castes. Apparently the same spirit of renaissance which animates the Hindu Scheduled Castes has not spread to the Christian section. Or it may be that in the absence of employment opportunities similar to those reserved for Scheduled Castes, there was no great temptation for the converts to go in for higher education. It is claimed that they have not been able to make any headway in Government or other employment and that they stand now there the Scheduled Castes stood 20 years ago. Though these assertions have not been statistically supported, it must be conceded that there is a large element of truth in them. From the figures supplied for Secretariat jobs, converts from Scheduled Castes have 8 posts of Junior Assistants against 237 for all Backward Classes, 4 posts of Assistants against 383 for all Backward Classes and 2 posts of Assistant Secretaries against 21 for all Backward Classes. In the consolidated figures of employment for all Collectorates excluding Thanjavur and Tirunelveli they have 11 Lower Division Clerks and 10 Upper Division Clerks. In the head offices of 36 Departments, their share is 137 Junior Assistants, 15 Assistants, 18 Superintendents, 5 of the grade of Deputy Tahsildars, one of the grade of Tahsildar and one Deputy Collectors. These figures are somewhat lower than the achievement of many other Backward Classes of similar population though there are several whose share these jobs is very much less. It is pertinent to observe that these figures could not possibly be for self-converts to Christianity. The orders of 1952 on reservation refer only to such self-converts, and self-converts it is believed are not too many now-a-days. Perhaps the vitiating factor in these statistics is that at the time of opening of service registers there is no temptation for these recruits to declare that they are either converts of the first generation or converts from Scheduled Castes at all. Most of them, it is unofficially ascertained, declare only as Christians. It is likely that there may be more Scheduled Castes Christians under the general category of Christians with which we have no interest being outside our terms of reference. It is necessary for us here to point out that in 1951-52 this question was examined in great detail by all concerned departments of the Secretariat and it was after very elaborate deliberation a decision was taken that the expression "Converts to Christianity from the Scheduled Castes" should be deemed to include only the person who is himself a convert to Christianity from any one of the Scheduled Castes. (G.O.Ms.No.2034, Public (Services); dated 11th August 1952). The apprehension then entertained was that without such restriction the entry will be extensively misused.

There are converts to Christianity from a number of Backward Castes and their representatives met us in various places and several written memorandum have also been received. We do not, however, propose to deal with this as this will tantamount to examining the case of the Christian community for treatment as a Backward Classes as bulk of the converts are likely to be from Backward Classes, which is also outside our terms



of reference. A representation on behalf of Nadar Christians addressed to the Hon'ble Minister for Backward Classes by the Secretary to the D.M.K., Tiruchendur particularly refers to the problem of Nadar Christians along with other converts. Such representation was made on behalf of Christian Nadars by many Nadar deputations also. All these are outside the scope of the Commission. However, there are two problems arising out of the dissimilarity in treatment between some castes in Kanyakumari and their opposite numbers in Tamil Nadu.

#### PARAVAN CHRISTIANS AND NADAR CHRISTIANS.

The grievance of the Paravan Christians living mostly in the coastal areas in Tirunelveli district is that they have not been given the same treatment as their brethren in Kanyakumari.

Paravan Christian in Tamil Nadu excluding Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk are not in the list of Backward Classes. Paravan are in the list of Backward Classes. But paravan Christians are in the list of Backward Classes applicable to Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk and Paravan are in the list (Kanyakumari district) of Scheduled Castes a vestige of the practice in the old Travancore-Cochin State prior to formation of Linguistic States.

Regarding Nadars they are a Backward Class in the general list as well as in Kanyakumari list. But the Christian Nadars of Kanyakumari district get backward Classes concessions as they come largely under the category of C.S.I. or Latin Catholics. So there is a grievance that the Christian Nadars are not treated as a Backward Class as their Hindu brethren are treated in the rest of Tamil Nadu. However, there is one serious flaw in this line of argument. In view of their very high literacy and general educational progress, educational concessions have already been withdrawn from them, and they are now entitled to share in the reservation for jobs and admissions only. In view of the Collector's report on their achievement in employment, in the number of Engineers, Doctors and Lawyers, they have produced, they cannot be treated as Backward even for this purpose. We have mentioned this in our note in Kanyakumari district (Section (ii) of the Chapter XI). The case of Nadars Christians was argued before us at great length and with much passion as socially Hindu and Christian Nadars seem to retain their homogeneity in spite of religious difference. Among the total Nadar population Christians form a sizable number too and without examining the case of Christians as a whole it cannot be said whether Christian Nadars are worse off than Hindu Nadars. Again this forms part of a general question outside our terms of reference.

P A R T - I I

NOTES ON DISTRICTS

TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT.

The Commission's first tour was of Tiruchirappalli district. We held four sittings from the 21st to 24th January, 1970, taking oral evidence and receiving representations in Tiruchirappalli itself. However, on the 23rd and 24th we visited Pudukkottai and Jayankondam respectively for taking oral evidence.

From the Principals and educational Officers, we obtained exceedingly useful information about the progress of the Backward Communities, and they emphasized the need to extend the scholarship facilities more liberally. But the most important suggestion was that hostel facilities throughout the district, both for Government Institutions as well as private institutions, were utterly inadequate and that the sufferers were boys and girls from Backward Classes. The need for extending hostel accommodation in the general hostels attached to the Colleges and Schools and the accommodation available for non-Harijans in the Harijan Welfare hostels was very prominently brought to our notice. The position is very acute in Pudukkottai City where a large number of backward class students directly represented their difficulties to us and pressed for the opening of a separate hostel for Backward Classes with the usual provision for admission to this hostel for Harijans as well as for forward communities.

Several representations were received from the Muslim community, including a few from Urdu speaking Muslims. We tried to elicit information from all of them as to the correct meaning of the term 'Labbai'. Various interpretations were given as to the scope of the term, but all of them admitted that in practice all Tamil speaking Muslims describe themselves as 'Labbais' just for the sake of this concession. The consensus of opinion was that the term 'Labbai' originally was applied to new converts and extended further to such Muslims who perform minor ritual duties in mosques and Dhargahs and in religious functions. The Urdu speaking Muslims claimed that they are in fact more backward than their Tamil speaking brothers and there is no caste system and no criteria for social division in Islam, and all the concessions now extended to 'Labbais' should be extended to all Muslims.

There was only one representation from a Christian Association and they mostly stressed the need for extending to Scheduled Caste converts all the privileges enjoyed by the parent Hindu Scheduled Castes. When the Chairman asked them to give specific examples of unassimilated Scheduled Castes, who were still practising depressed avocations, they were reluctant to give further details. It was brought to the notice of the Chairman by the Member, Thiru Chinnappan, that there are converted scavengers, whose position is pitiable. The Chairman desired representatives of those Harijans converts should come before the Commission and the Commission should be given an opportunity to inspect their localities. No response to this request by the Chairman was forthcoming.

Vanniakula Kshatria community is obviously the most numerous in this district and is concentrated in the Taluks of Udayarpalayam, Jayakondam and Ariyalur and is spread in smaller numbers in other taluks. Representatives of this community met the Commission at Jayankondam, and at their request some typical backward villages were also visited by the Chairman and the Secretary. A note has been recorded of this visit. Their main request was that they should be given all the privileges and concessions now given to Scheduled Castes in the matter of education scholarship etc. They also pleaded that the reservation of seats in educational institutions and appointment in Government service

should be on a more liberal basis in proportion to their numerical strength. Various suggestions were made for improving the economic conditions of the area, including several minor irrigation and deep-well projects and some small-scale industries. The Commission took note of these suggestions. A plea was also made in the interest of the local people that a Sub-Court (Munsiff's Court) should be opened at Jayankondam as otherwise all litigants, mostly from the Backward Classes, have to go to Ariyalur. This appeared to the Commission to be a reasonable request. Another suggestion was that Government should open a College at Jayankondam because there are more than 20 High Schools within a radius of 7 or 8 miles and the boys and girls from all these High Schools have to seek admission in Colleges in distant places with all the expenditure and inconvenience involved. When the Chairman asked the representatives whether they would be able to raise some funds for the purpose, they said that the most they could do was to raise one lakh rupees and to donate a piece of 10 or 12 acres of land near Jayankondam for the founding of a College. The Government should sympathetically consider this proposition.

Representations were received from the following communities:-

1. Yadhavas,
2. Kallars,
3. Muthurajas,
4. Parkavakulathars,
5. Isai Vellalas,
6. Viswakarmas (Kammalas),
7. Vallambars,
8. Pattunoolkaran (Sourashtra),
9. Navithans (Barbers),
10. Vannans (Washermen),
11. Vanniakula Kshatria,
12. Golla Naidu,
13. Maharatta (Non-Brahmins),
14. Sengunthars.

Representation was also received from a small community, Mahendra (Madara) engaged in bamboo basket weaving. About 4000 to 5000 are settled in Tiruvanaikaval. In Pudukkottai representation was also received from a community (Vallambar) not included in the list, whose main grievance was that with the migration of Nagarathars to Far-east countries, many of their people lost their profession of cooking and domestic service.

Many of the representations from the big communities tended to exaggerate the numerical strength of their population, both in the State as well as in the districts. This will have to be very critically checked with reference to the Census figures. Some of the representations followed a set pattern, apparently directed by a central organisation. Many such control organisations have sent to the Commission their replies to the questionnaire on a State basis.

On behalf of the Kallar community in Pudukkottai, it was represented that in the erstwhile Pudukkottai State before integration, they were in receipt of several concessions and privileges along with a few other Backward communities and while with the integration, some of the Most Backward communities in the Kerala State continued to enjoy their old privileges under the Princely regime, the Backward Classes in Pudukkottai were not given such protection. The Sub-Collector was requested to give details for such special privileges to Kallars and others under the Raja's rule.

Most of the communities, whose representatives appeared before the Commission and which are now in the Backward Classes list, urged that they should be included in the Most Backward Classes list. This is almost a universal demand and the Commission's assessment has to be very careful.

Of all the castes, whose representatives appeared before the Commission, the position of the Isai Vellalas (Melakaras) deserves particular study. The only profession they are now engaged in is Melam and Nattuvangam. These are not remunerative. Most of them appear to suffer from a terrible inferiority complex and as the men and women folk are unable to adjust themselves to any demand new occupations, some sort of rehabilitation scheme has to be devised in their interest. A lady social worker in Pudukkottai almost pleaded for a scheme of pension for the women folk, who have lost their original avocation, and who are neither physically nor educationally equipped to undertake any other competitive jobs. While the representatives of other castes clamoured their right to demand things from the State, the Isai Vellalas representatives were conspicuous for their humility and inhibition.

At the end of its first tour, the Commission was left with the impression that elementary education itself has not made worthwhile progress among the Backward Classes as hardly one out of every five in the school-going age goes to the village school. Secondary education from the village based communities is equally unsatisfactory. The other impression that we gained was that, in addition to such educational facilities as Government have been giving, much more attention will have to be paid to the economic aspect of the problem. This should cover such subjects as: minor irrigation, deep-well facilities in dry areas, cottage industries and small scale industries of a labour intensive character all of which will directly benefit the villagers. There is also a universal demand from the spokesmen of the most of the Backward Communities that housing sites should be provided for the numerous homeless amongst them and places where their avocation is carried on like the Dhobi Khanas, Village Smithies, etc. should be assigned in favour of the communities. The social stigmas attached to the Barbers and Washermen have got to be removed and some sort of legislation is necessary to enforce better payment in kind or proper payment in cash for their services in the villages. In the same way the houses from the village common land occupied by Barbers and Dhobies for generations in many villages should be assigned in their favour, lest social oppression takes the form of eviction.

In Tiruchirappalli we heard the views of prominent individuals - Periyar E.V.R., K.A.P. Viswanathan and T.P. Vedachalam. Thiru Viswanathan pleaded that the caste criteria for backwardness should be replaced by economic criteria in the interest of casteless society.

#### Note on visit to Villages.

##### Ammachatram.

On the way to Pudukkottai, on 23rd January 1970 the Commission visited a village, by name Ammachatram. This is a mixed village. There is a high School at Keeranur within 3 miles and an Elementary School in the village itself. The main population is of the Muthuraja community. Next in importance is Andipandaram, Konar and Servai community each having 25 houses, 7 houses, 5 houses and four houses respectively. There are a few Muslim families, 2 families of Dassaries, 3 families of Barbers, 2 families of Christians, 1 family of Carpenter and 2 Brahmin

families. On the whole there are about 60 houses excluding the Harijans, who are living apart. The Muthurajas are comparatively more prosperous as one-third of their number own lands to the extend of 3 acres and more. The others are tenant farmers. Even in other communities, a small number of them are petty land owners, others are engaged in farming and tending cattle. In the local Elementary School though there are over 150 children in the village, only 30 children attend the school, mostly from the Muthuraja families including about 12 girls. The Konars and Servais appear to be comparatively better off. The land is mostly inam lands recently settled. Only one boy of Muthuraja went to High School; but he too discontinued his studies. No one has completed Matriculation. Though this is a typical farming village and though one-third of the number own about 2 or 3 acres of dry land, no-body was able to obtain a loan for sinking a well or for installing a pump set. Being a non-irrigated area, there is no double crop and the people feel the necessity for a second crop or a commercial crop, which might relieve their unemployment and give them a little more money. There are only three semi pucca houses, one belongs to Muthuraja and the other two belong to the Brahmin families, one of which is that of the local teacher. The disquieting feature is that though there are about 150 children, only 30 attend school and though there is a high school within three miles not a single child goes to the High School. As the land is non-irrigated all the people are on the verge of poverty and need supplementary income. Without special inducement children are also not attracted to the school.

From Jayankondan, we visited two villages on 24th January 1970.

#### Agaram:

There are about 1000 families, comprising of 500 Padayachis, 100 Sengunthars, about 25 Saiva Chettiars and a few other miscellaneous castes in small numbers. The rest are Scheduled castes. A few families of Solia Chettiars are well to do. They are bigger land ~~lords~~ and do money-lending also. Among the 500 Padayachis families, 20 boys are going to High School in Alagapuram situated within one mile and only one boy is attending a Tamil College. Majority are small land holders, owning less than 2 acres of land. They supplement their income by working as farm labourers for others. The living standards are extremely poor and their houses are much worse than the houses of the Scheduled Castes people. These houses are mostly with mud walls and thatched roof and in the only room of the house everything is done including cooking living etc.

#### Vallam:

Except for 50 Harijans and the usual supplement of Carpenters, Dhobies, Barbers, the rest of the population are Padayachis. The population might be about 3000. In the local Elementary School only 100 pupils, ~~Not~~ even one out of every 5 of school going age, go to school. Three boys are attending a High School, which is about 3 miles away and one boy is attending a Tamil College. All of them complain that on account of deforestation, they have lost much of their occupation. Many men and women migrate to Thanjavur district during the harvesting season for daily work. A few high school students are not able to get the scholarship because they are not able to obtain the minimum marks, 40, laid down for grant of scholarship. Most of the men folk were seen only with a bare langotti, not even a loin cloth. Most of the boys were

in the same condition. The Harijan boys were very much better dressed and more presentable. The general feeling in these two villages, Agaram and Vallam, is that the majority community, which is the Padayachi Community, is economically worse off than the Harijans and that fewer number of children go to school and the very few boys who go to High School do not get any State assistance. There are no roads worth mentioning in the whole area.

The Chairman and the Secretary paid a visit to a group of villages in the Pudukkottai Division for some spot enquiries about Virakodi Vellalas on 28th September 1970.

### TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT

#### Demographic Data

District Population (Projected for 1971)	..	37,91,148
Percentage to State population	..	9.5%
Density of population (1961) District	..	579 per square mile.
Density of population (1961) State	..	672 for the State.
Percentage of Urban Population (1961) District	..	21.26 per cent
Percentage of Urban Population (1961) State	..	(26.69 per cent for the State.

#### Religious Composition and Decennial Variation (1921-1961).

Religious Composition	1921 Percentage	1931 Percentage	1941 Percentage	1951 Percentage	1961 Percentage
Hindus ..	91.82	90.80	90.71	91.19	90.28
Christians..	4.82	5.40	5.11	4.73	5.38
Muslims ..	3.36	3.79	4.18	4.02	4.03
Others ..	—	0.01	—	0.06	0.31
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

#### Major Backward Classes and their size for 1971

1. Ambalakaran	..	..	1,46,505
2. Gavara	..	..	54,333
3. Kaikolan	..	..	59,650
4. Kallan	..	..	1,44,327
5. Kammalan	..	..	1,15,451
6. Kuruba, Kurumba	..	..	66,859
7. Labbai	..	..	68,666
8. Maruthuvar	..	..	53,247
9. Muttiriyar	..	..	1,84,472
10. Oddar	..	..	54,528
11. Parkavakulam	..	..	2,23,906
12. Urali Goundan	..	..	89,944
13. Valaiyan	..	..	1,34,186
14. Vannan	..	..	50,354
15. Vanniakula Kshatriya	..	..	3,28,629
16. Yadhava	..	..	1,37,778
17. Scheduled Caste	..	..	6,73,015

#### Literacy Percentage

	<u>All</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
District average	29.93	44.69	15.30
State average	31.41	44.54	18.17

KANYAKUMARI DISTRICT

The Commission took oral evidence at Nagarcoil on the 2nd and 3rd February, 1970. Thiru Hussain, Member, did not attend. In addition to the Educational Officers and Principals of a few Colleges, evidence was taken from local M.L.As. and leaders of various communities.

One peculiar feature of Kanyakumari district from the educational point of view is that on account of compulsory education introduced by the old Travancore-Cochin State, of which this district formed a part, the percentage of literacy and at least of primary and middle school education is very high. In a district with a population of 9,36,915, as per 1961 Census it is reported there are nearly 1,80,000 students in Elementary and Higher Elementary classes alone. This is about five times the State average. So there is no problem as far as school education is concerned. In view of the large number of High Schools (45 Government High Schools and 44 Private High Schools) almost every school-going boy or girl can reach the nearest High School within a radius of 3 to 5 miles. Hence there is no demand for hostels. The problem is slightly different for collegiate education as in spite of the existence of a number of colleges there is a rush for admission. As the important Colleges are run by Christian Missions, allegation was fully made that non-Christians find it difficult to get admission in some Colleges.

In view of the large number of schools, primary secondary and High Schools, teaching is the most popular profession and there is an excess of supply over demand and it is stated that even M.Sc. degree holders are available as High School teachers. Here again is a complaint that S.S.L.C. passed boys and girls do not get admission in training institutions easily and there is a large number of unemployed trained teachers.

Some deputations expressed the need for additional colleges to relieve pressure on the existing colleges. But in view of the unemployment position, the utility of such a step is questionable. Compared to the number of students in the colleges, hostel accommodation is available only for a limited number and Principals stated that there is no demand for increasing hostel accommodation. Students prefer to come to the colleges from their own homes or stay in private lodging houses. So there is no problem which other districts experience in respect of hostel accommodation.

On the occupational and economic sides, this district has peculiar problems in that, most of the educated young men and women would prefer to remain within the district itself. This local attachment increases the pressure on employment opportunities and gives rise to problems relating to inadequate representation of competing communities. As the biggest and the dominant community in this district is the Nadar Community all the others resent their growing strength in every field. Though the Nadar community is divided into Hindu and Christian, there is a certain amount of cohesion between the two sections in confronting others.

There are no major industries nor even an adequate number of medium scale or small scale industries in this region. A proper economic survey will have to be made to explore alternative and subsidiary employment opportunities. The main raw materials available are palmyrah tree products and to a smaller extent coconut tree products. The utilisation of timber for manufacture of furniture and other articles probably will



take the second place. Rubber is being planted in large acreage. Of course more important than all these are the fishing resources of the coastal belt. Suggestion was also made that the port of Colachel could be developed. This might indirectly increase the export and import of this region.

Regarding the development of fishing industry, there is a pilot project at Muttam under Indo-Belgian auspices sponsored by the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations. The success of the pilot project and the extension of the scheme of popularising outward motors on 'Kattamarams' and small crafts will greatly benefit the very big fishermen community in the Kanyakumari coast. When fishing develops, many marine products industries are also likely to be developed. No proper survey on the purely industrial and economic side appears to have been made so far of these possibilities, and the question has to be taken up with the Director of Fisheries and the Director of Industries. This should not be neglected especially in view of the tremendous educated unemployment in the area.

A unique feature of this district is the penetration of Christianity into almost all Hindu communities barring the so-called the highest. There are Christian Nadars, Christian Kammalas, Christian Vannans, Paravan Christians, Catholic Vaniar, Bharathan Christians, Mukkuvan Christians, Kerala Mudali Christians, Maravan Christians, etc. This prevalence of Christianity among all Hindu castes, provokes the allegation of discrimination. As the list of backward castes maintained is largely a list of Hindu castes, the Christian Nadars and Kammalas and others claim that they should be treated on a par with their co-caste men. The problem is to a certain extent reduced in view of the recognition of various Christian communities like Latin Catholics, S.I.U.C., C.S.I. Christians among the list of Backward Classes. Nevertheless there are a few converted caste men who may not be covered by these Christian denominations. So the universal demand in this district is for treating converts to Christianity on a par with the parent Hindu community to which they originally belonged and with which they even now maintain social contacts on the basis of caste-brotherhood.

The most distressing problem is of course that of the Mukkuvans or Paravans - the fishing folk along the coast. Though there is widespread primary education, this community has not taken advantage of the opportunities of High School and College education to the extent others have done here, because of their hazardous occupation and comparative poverty. Even in the primary school and secondary school stage, it has been reported to us that there is considerable wastage and the educational officers suggested the institution of Kinder garten classes for the very young children. 'Palarpalli', so that the children might acquire the school-going habit and lead a cleaner life in some hygienic surroundings. This will equip them to benefit by the regular school education after the age of six. The Paravans and Mukkuvans of this area are mostly Catholics and according to some of the witnesses are entirely Catholics. But in view of the inclusion of Latin Catholics and other Christians in the Backward Classes list of Kanyakumari district, they are entitled to Backward Classes concession. But the demand is that they should be included among the Scheduled Castes or at least should be given on a separate basis, the same concessions and privileges in every respect on a par with the Scheduled Castes. Of course, similar request has been made on behalf of most of the socially backward castes in this as well as in other regions. (examples Barbers and Washermen).

The Muslims community was represented before us by several deputations and most of them have alleged discrimination against them in College admissions and employment opportunities etc. But no proper reply to the questionnaire was received establishing their backwardness from the Muslim representatives at this stage. The leading deputation of Muslim Lubbais which met us on 3rd February 1950 categorically stated that Urdu speaking Muslims are a forward lot. The same deputation stated that for a population of 50,000 Muslims in Kanyakumari district, there were about 500 College educated men-graduates. To the representatives of Muslims on behalf of the Urdu speaking sections and to the Christians, it was explained that as these communities are not in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Government, consideration of their cases is outside the terms of reference of the Commission. But as a matter of courtesy, it was agreed to hear their cases and they were advised to make out a proper case that they are socially, educationally and economically backward by answering the questionnaire adequately.

The Nadar community urged through their representatives that there should be no difference between Christian Nadars and Hindu Nadars and both were equally backward. Though there may be a slightly higher rate of secondary education among Christian Nadar women, the Hindu Nadars were slightly superior in the matter of College education. They claim that they should not be treated on a par with the well-to-do Nadars of Virudhunagar, Sivakasi and Tuticorin, etc., and they emphatically urged that the majority of Nadars are still today tappers and pleaded that they should be given all facilities on a par with the Scheduled Castes or atleast treated as Most Backward Class. Some representatives even pleaded for proportional representation for their community in educational institutions and in Government service. In any case they wanted the continuation of the facilities for all communities in Kanyakumari district as they were enjoying before integration.

Another special feature of this district is the existence of a number of small local communities like Chettu or Chettiars, Kerala Mudaly, Kambar (this community though small is not to be found either in the Kanyakumari list or in the Tamil Nadu list of Backward Classes), Chekkala (small local caste allied to Oil Mongers), Veerasaivas (obviously a part of the Tamil Pandaram caste). All these communities are keen on perpetuating their separate identities and are consistently demanding privileges on a par with the Scheduled Castes. Most of these small communities numbering only a few hundreds each or a few thousands barring the depressed class Christians have a grievance that they have no occasion to contribute a member for local Panchayat or Panchayat Union or the Temple Board and things like that. Nominations to these local bodies are sought as a recognition of their local social position. All of them had the grievance that they have no caste men in higher Government jobs. These small castes feel that they are being dominated in the economic and administrative life of the district by the dominant community. Both the dominant community as well as the smaller castes want representation in the ranks of Government service at all levels in the district itself.

At the end of the tour our impression was that the main problems of this area are: (1) the demand for equality of treatment between Christian converts and erstwhile Hindu brethren of the same caste, (2) recognition and encouragement in some form for the numerous small communities, (3) economic improvement of the coastal belt in the interest

of the fishermen and (4) development of small industries based on local resources and local means. In all these matters administration will be confronted with the "local patriotism" of the people to whatever caste or religion they belong and the disinclination to seek avenues of employment outside the district.

A matter of sociological interest here is that of the Kerala Mudali community which obviously is trying to raise its social status by self-regulation. A small section of this community which is obviously not conforming to these regulations, by giving up some low occupations like barbering, are being kept out of the social fold. The representatives of the progressive section, who met us in Tirunelveli stoutly denied that barbering is one of the recognised occupations of that caste and thus barbers and pipers who claim to be Kerala Mudali are not at all Kerala Mudalis.

The Nanjil Nadu Vellalas are not in the list of Backward Classes like the Vellalas in Tamil Nadu. But a representation was made on their behalf that they should also be treated as a Backward Class. The usual reply that this is outside the terms of reference was given to them and they were asked to submit a formal memorandum replying to the questionnaire if they desire to pursue their case.

An examination of the special list of Backward Classes for Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk is being made. Some communities did not come before us at all; apparently they are too small. Many could be equated with the corresponding Tamil Nadu Communities. Whatever rationalisation the Commission may suggest in the list it is very much desirable that the status-quo ante-integration should be maintained in respect of the communities listed in the Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk. A complaint was made that when members concerned of these communities migrated outside the Kanyakumari district, they are denied their old concessions. There might have been one or two cases. But irrespective of the place of education or employment the old concession should be given.

#### KANYAKUMARI

##### Demographic Data

District population (projected for 1971)	..	11,84,752
Percentage to State population	..	3.0%
Density of population (1961) district	..	1,544
Density of population (1961) State	..	672
Percentage of Urban population: District	..	15.05%
Percentage of Urban population: State	..	26.69%

##### Religious Composition:- (1961)

##### Percentage to the total in the district.

Hindus	59
Christians	37
Muslims	4
Total	100

Major Backward Classes & their size for 1971.

1. Chetties	..	9,669
2. C.S.I.	..	5,852
3. Nadar	..	3,58,535
4. Kammalan	..	40,393
5. Kerala Mudali	..	17,159
6. Krishnavaka	..	24,435
7. Latin Catholics	..	62,242
8. Mukkuvan	..	72,801
9. S.I.U.C.	..	1,08,834

10. Scheduled Caste	..	48,249
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Literacy percentage (1961)

	<u>All</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
District average ..	48.57	56.24	40.73
State average ..	31.41	44.54	18.17

TIRUNELVELI DISTRICT

The Chairman took oral evidence in Thirunelveli district from the afternoon of the 4th till the evening of the 7th February 1970, the first three days at Tirunelveli and the last day at Courtallam.

Education.

The Educational Officers and the Principals of the Colleges represented that there is no dearth of applications from Backward Communities and in actual fact nearly 60 to 70 per cent of the seats in Colleges are taken up by applicants from the Backward and Scheduled Castes. Hostel facilities in Colleges throughout the district appear to be inadequate. One phenomenon which the Principal of the St. Xavier's College brought to our notice was that separate sections in the hostels are maintained for scholarship students (mainly Scheduled Castes) and they spend more than what other hostel students are able to. He also mentioned indirectly that there is an under-current of resentment among the non-scholarship students that Government money is being spend by students who do not fare well in examinations. Too many concessions breed a feeling of irresponsibility. Regarding performance, though boys of the Backward Communities are showing steady improvement, many of the best places in the examinations are still taken by the forward communities. An interesting observation was made by the Principal of the Parasakthi College that even after spending four years in hostel, the girls from Backward Classes do not shed off their inferiority complex and Tamil medium actually hinders their progress. Generally boys and girls from backward communities fare badly in English, though they catch up in science subjects.

Scholarships:

All the Educational Officers and Principals complained that false certificate of income are produced frequently and some method of checking up of the income of the parents should be devised. There is also suspicion that sometimes even caste names are changed by adopting the name of the sub-caste which is in the list. In the matter of income certificates the sufferers are the salaried servants and beneficiaries are generally the landlords, who can successfully under-declare their income

from their lands. One of the Principals made an interesting suggestion that no scholarship should be given which has not an element of loan or deferred payment in it. Free scholarships, covering hostel expenditure also, in his opinion had deteriorated the standard of education. It was mentioned by all the Educational Officers and Principal that the residential scholarship amount of Rs.35 in moffussil Colleges and Rs.40 in City Colleges is not sufficient and the amount should be raised and perhaps part of them may be regarded as loan to be recovered from the student when he gets employment. When Government gives free scholarship, the boy takes it as a right. There must be some effort and sacrifice on the part of the boy and his parent.

From the point of view of population strength, the following communities are the most important in the district:—

1. Nadars,
2. Maravan,
3. Yadava or Idayan,
4. Indian Christian,
5. Kammalan groups and
6. Muslim Labbais.

The population according to the 1921 Census and the estimate of the present population are given below:—

Name of the Community	Population strength as per 1921 Census.	Present population strength as per District Welfare Officer
1. Isai Vellalar	.. Not available	5,000
2. Illuvan	.. 12,633	10,000
3. Jangam	.. 30,942	10,000
4. Kaikolan and Sengunthar	.. 27,255	1,00,000
5. Kammalan	.. 88,556	1,00,000
6. Kulala	.. 10,758	10,000
7. Labbai	.. 50,388	4,00,000*
8. Maruthuvar or Navithan	.. 22,994	20,000
9. Padayachi	.. 6,540	10,000
10. Pannaiyar	.. Not available	2,000
11. Mooppanar	.. do.	20,000
12. Senaithalaivar	.. do.	50,000
13. Nadar	.. 2,58,553	5,00,000
14. Sourashtra	.. 2,269	15,000
15. Thondaman	.. Not available	3,000
16. Vadugan	.. 13,532	2,00,000
17. Valayan	.. Not available	5,000
18. Vannan	.. 29,254	30,000
19. Vaniyar	.. 23,857	50,000
20. Vanniakula Kshatriya	.. 6,540	10,000
21. Yadava	.. Not available	1,50,000
22. Yogeewara	.. do.	20,000

\* exaggerated as noted by the Chairman.

Nadar:

The Nadar community is the most numerous and it is spread fairly evenly throughout the district. As in the Kanyakumari district a fair proportion of the Indian Christians is also from this community. Several representations were received. The only memorandum replying to the questionnaire was received from Thiru Ganapathi, Ex-M.L.A. and M.P. The others made only oral representations and were asked to submit detailed particulars supporting their claim for backwardness. There obviously is not an organisation at the district level. It is also claimed that there is no central association at the State level. No specific details have been mentioned regarding service and employment and the tendency has been to under-rate the community's achievements in all spheres. It has been claimed that the bulk of the community are toddy-tappers and that it is humiliating for them to get a licence for tapping sweet toddy, which is not a prohibited article. The representatives from Tirunelveli, like the representatives from Kanyakumari are aggrieved that their men are not in high positions in these districts.

Both the Hindu Nadars and the Christian Nadars claimed that they should be treated alike and should be given the facilities similar to Scheduled Castes. Another representative of the community pleaded for more liberal admission of Backward Classes into colleges by reducing qualifying marks and stressed that encouragement must be given to traders and not only to industrialists. He also felt that Christian Nadars have, to some extent, got over their environmental handicaps. In view of the absence of a representation from district-wide organisation representing the community, the Commission is left to draw its conclusion only from individual representations.

The same observation holds good for the Marava community as well, though several individuals represented their case. The Marava community in Tirunelveli district is a denotified tribe and is entitled to several concessions and privileges even now almost on a par with the Scheduled Castes. But their grievance is that the reclamation schemes are not fully and properly implemented in Tirunelveli district and the community has hardly derived any benefit. There are quite a few schools for denotified tribes and the number of boys and girls generally in schools and colleges is perhaps not commensurate with the size of their population. Though in several Panchayats they are well represented, employment opportunities both in Government service as well as outside are somewhat denied to them because of their background. On behalf of the Maravas living in dry areas in Nanguneri taluk and elsewhere, it was represented that their villages are inadequately served by roads and that there is tremendous scope for improving minor irrigation and deep-well facilities. The representatives were advised to get more accurate and reliable figures of education, employment, etc. as per questionnaire and submit a written memorandum for the district.

The Yadava community which is perhaps the fourth biggest, present a cyclostyled memorandum prepared on a Statewise basis and with inadequate details for the district. They were also requested to amplify their memorandum. The deputation stressed that the community has made no progress at all in education and very large numbers are still leading nomadic life, tending sheep and herding them from village to village. They claimed that their representation in Government service is inadequate and very few of their boys and girls get admissions to institutions of higher learning. They complain that they have no political pull at the district or State level and that they are a neglected community.

A community claiming to be Telugu Yadavas presented a peculiar problem. They are settled in several villages and till recently they had not identified themselves with the local Tamil speaking Yadavas. In documents they are described as Naickers or Naidus and their caste is shown as Vadugans or Vaduga Ayars. Vadugan and Vaduga Ayar are not easily distinguishable and though till now they are known as Vadugans, now they want to be known as Idayans or Yadavas, using the caste title Vaduga Idayar which, of course, is not accepted by certifying Officers. The Commission mentioned to them that either as Vadugans or as Idayans they are listed as Backward. Until they are properly recognised by the Government as Telugu speaking Yadava, it is not advisable for them to make any change in their caste name. They claimed that they are really worse off than their Tamil speaking brethren and like them they should be treated as backward. The amplification of the term, 'Idayan' or 'Yadava' in the Backward Classes list similar to other caste names is being carefully examined by the Commission.

Several deputations from Muslims waited on the Commission; but non-detailed memorandum on a district basis was submitted. It was pointed out to them that according to information available, they are not badly off, educationally and in Government employment. But the representatives stressed that they are not getting adequate opportunities. One spokesman stressed the necessity for girls' schools in predominantly Muslim areas so that large number of Muslim girls can take to education. A few Urdu speaking Muslims who were in the district one or two generations ago appear to have declined both economically and in numerical strength and the Muslim population is now almost entirely Tamil speaking and they claim they are Labbais. This is a general question which has to be examined at the State level, like the request to treat Urdu speaking Muslims also as backward.

Written representations were received from a number of smaller communities. There are small pockets of Sourashtras, who claim to be extremely backward. The representatives of the following smaller communities appeared before us to tender oral evidence:—

1. Pannayar,
2. Rajakambalam,
3. Pandaram,
4. Sourashtra,
5. Potter community,
6. Vedan,
7. Pattamkatti,
8. Solagar (Thondaman).

Thondaman otherwise known as Solagar: This community is practically confined to a few taluks in Tirunelveli district and their main occupation is preparation of country lime ( சுண்ணாம்பு ). The population is claimed to be 5,000. They claimed certain relationship with the Kallars of Pudukkottai in order to assert their social status. Their request is to regard them as Scheduled Tribe and they promised to produce evidence in support of their claim.

Sadhu Telugu Chetty (24 Manai): This is also a small community mainly engaged in working on palmyrah fibre round about Tuticorin. Though the witnesses claimed that no one was studying in colleges from their community, we ascertained that 10 scholarships were awarded to the students claiming to be Telugu Chetty. Such misuse does not appear to be uncommon. They claimed that they are not even in a position to form a co-operative society and collect the minimum subscription for that.

The communities on whose behalf written representations were submitted, but who did not avail themselves of the opportunity for giving oral evidence are given below:—

1. Kallars and
2. Illathars.

The representatives of the Kammala group, the Barber and the Washermen repeated the same grievances and requested for more facilities and concessions as they did elsewhere and of course they will be treated on a State level.

A representation was received at Courtallam from the Saiva Pillais of Shencottah that they should also be treated as Backward Class since their name was in the list of Travancore-Cochin State Government before integration. They were told that if their name was omitted in the Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk list after integration they should have protested and made out their case at that stage. In any case it could not be established that they are educationally, socially and economically backward. They are a very forward and progressive community.

Our general impressions after completing the tour of the Tirunelveli district are—

1. The question of extending the denotified tribe reclamation schemes to the Marava Community on a par with what is being done to Kallars in Ramanathapuram and Madurai districts should be examined;
2. The claim of the converts from backward and scheduled castes to Christianity should be examined on a State level basis;
3. The Paravan community (fishermen) of the Tuticorin coastal belt requires special consideration and their case is almost analogous to that of Bharathavas in Kanyakumari district. Both the communities are Christians - Roman Catholics. In addition to road facilities, marketing facilities and schemes for the development of fisheries, the question of giving educational and other concessions can only be examined after the main question of treatment of converts to Christianity is settled on principle. The Commission could not visit any of the backward areas as no request was made in time and a promise has been made to the fishermen community that that area will be visited by the Commission at a later date.
4. Senai Mudaliar or Ilai Vaniar community is noticed for the first time in Tirunelveli district and it is represented that the community is in other districts as well. There is no doubt about their comparative backwardness and their case will have to be examined after hearing representatives from the community in other districts.



- (5) An extremely useful work for the Commission was done by the Vania community or oil monger community, which is not one of the major communities either in the State or in the district. They have attempted a complete census of educational and economic data, village by village and they have promised to give accurate figures for all the other questions for the entire State in the course of next month or so. Detailed statistics obtained for several villages in Tirunelveli district were handed over to us and the Commission commended the representatives for the work done. As usual their request also was for inclusion in the Most Backward Classes list. Another important request from their was that their industry, oil crushing industry, should be given excise rebate.
- (6) Both in the Kanyakumari and Tirunelveli districts, it was represented to us that a very large number of Barbers and Fishermen have been repatriated to India from Ceylon. Both these groups find readjusting to Indian conditions somewhat difficult, as they have developed a higher standard of living and a better social standing in Ceylon. The position of the Barber repatriates is perhaps a little more difficult and no reclamation and resettlement measures appear to have been taken.

#### Unemployment:

During the sittings of the Commission, we had to face a large number of unemployed young men, mostly S.S.L.Cs. and P.U.Cs. The lower the social status of the caste the higher is the incidence of unemployment. They complained that without political patronage at the district level and at the State level, it is not possible for them to get even the smallest jobs. It is alleged especially in Tirunelveli district that the dominant forward communities control all appointments in the Panchayat Unions and Municipalities. Even M.L.As. and community leaders alleged that the Tirunelveli district and especially the backward community of the Tirunelveli district had no political pull and hence they are unable to find suitable employment for their young men. We see here the result of too much secondary education without adequate employment opportunities. Mr. Dhikshidar, M.L.A. observed that the only remedy to this state of affairs is the reorientation of our educational system. This is all the more pertinent since most communities want to give up their traditional occupations, particularly the Barbers and the distressed weavers.

#### Common pasture and land assignment:

The representatives of the Yadava community and a few others also mentioned that due to the encroachment of common pasture lands

and to the assignment of poramboke lands for cultivation purposes, it is not possible to obtain enough grazing facilities for their cattle. Apart from the economic consequences of reducing common pastures in the villages, the conversion of such lands into private cultivable property leads to harassment of cow-herds and cattle grazers as their cattle are impounded for poaching into private lands.

Some M.L.As. and other enlightened witnesses also suggested that in view of the widespread prevalence of poverty, an economic criteria should be applied as an alternative to castewise classification, but they also apprehended that the administrative and enforcement problems will be too much and the poorer sections of the backward classes might not benefit substantially by the application of the economic criteria.

A representative of the Veduvar (Nambi) community pleaded that they should be included as a Scheduled Tribe.

### TIRUNELVELI DISTRICT

#### Demographic Data

District population projected for (1971)	..	32,44,714
Percentage to State population	..	8.1%
Density of population (1961) district	..	619 per squire mile.
Density of population (1961) State	..	672 per square mile.
Percentage of Urban population (1961) district	..	31.1%
Percentage of Urban population (1961) State	..	29.69%

#### Religious composition and decennial variation.

Religious groups.	1921 percentage	1931 percentage	1941 percentage	1951 percentage	1961 percentage
Hindus ..	84.14	83.00	81.72	82.20	81.37
Muslims ..	5.74	5.88	6.46	6.50	6.71
Christians ..	10.12	11.12	11.76	11.20	11.91
Others ..	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.01	0.01
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Major Backward Classes and their size for 1971.

1. Illuvan	..	23,216
2. Kaikolar	..	50,080
3. Kallar	..	23,123
4. Kammalan	..	1,62,740
5. Labbai	..	92,598
6. Maravan	..	4,26,075
7. Maruthuvar	..	42,255
8. Nadar	..	4,75,142
9. Paravan	..	91,143
10. Senthalaivar	..	96,182
11. Vadugan	..	24,868
12. Vanian	..	43,842
13. Vannan	..	53,760
14. Yadava	..	1,87,212
<hr/>		
15. Scheduled Castes	..	5,12,387

Literacy percentage 1961.

	<u>All</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
District average	.. 36.38%	49.99%	23.46%
State average	.. 31.41%	44.54%	18.17%

Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts.

The Commission toured Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts between 23rd February and 2nd March, 1970. Most of the sittings were held in Madurai itself as it happens to be the headquarters of Ramanathapuram district as well.

During our interviews with the representatives of communities in Madurai district, we heard representations from the Nadar community (Nadar Mahajana Sangam), which has its headquarters in Madurai itself. They carried the argument advanced by their fellow representatives in Tirunelveli straight further and claimed that nearly 70% of their people are still tree-tappers and presented a series of demands for their amelioration. These demands included the relaxation of the terms of licence for tree climbing, assignment of lands on which the palmyrah trees stand to the actual tappers, provision of housing facilities, and facilities for warehousing jaggery and for marketing. There is a society at present dealing with marketing of jaggery, but the representatives of that society did not meet us. When their attention was drawn to the existence of several schools and colleges run by the Nadar community and when they are asked whether this is not an indication of their comparative affluence and progress of education, they maintained that the affluence is confined to a very small section. Further as these leading members of the community are not engaged in industry but only in trade, even their economic strength is not of a durable or permanent nature. As it happens with many backward communities, which have made some progress in recent years, this community has also produced a fairly prosperous upper layer which gets the benefit of educational facilities in admission and appointment facilities in the name of the community. This layer is by no means so small as the

representatives made out, and they were asked to give more reliable figures of the proportion of the population engaged in purely tree-tapping and allied pursuits. It is also noted no representative of actual toddy-tappers ever met the Commission, as the representatives of actual fishermen, weavers etc. met us in Madurai as well as in other places. The claim that the Nadar converts should also be treated on a par with the Hindu Nadars was also emphasised and the deputations consisted of representatives of Christian Nadars as well and the deputation consisted of representatives of Christian Nadars as well. It becomes quite obvious to us that this community is trying to secure and retain a dominant position in this district. This has not escaped the notice of the other dominant communities, viz. Kallars and Maravars.

Taking perhaps a clue from the trend of the Commission's questioning, the representatives from several castes among the Christians also met us separately and presented memoranda. We had such memoranda from Marava converts, Valayar converts, etc. A list of castes included in the Catholic fold as prepared by the Madurai Archdiocese was also presented to us.

The Yadhava community presented a memorial on the same pattern as at Tiruchirappalli and Tirunelveli. In Madurai a Yadhava College was started recently. For the first time some details of the economic conditions of the actual shepherds and goat-herds, who are to be found in large numbers and who form the bulk of the Yadhava or Idaya community in the rural areas were given to the Commission. These people still pursue their nomadic habits for a part of the year. Some specific ameliorative measures benefitting this section were suggested, the most significant being a provision of separate boarding schools in certain areas for the children of the goat-herds and shepherds, as the families go from place to place for grazing for half of the year. The children are not looked after and their education is utterly neglected. It was mentioned to us that if some boarding schools are established the shepherds will leave their children of school-going age in these schools while they go out with their herds for grazing. Special facilities for improving sheep and cattle by setting up model farms and by encouraging introduction of better breeds were also suggested.

The most important aspect of Backward Classes ameliorative work in this area is the Kallar Reclamation Scheme for the betterment of the Denotified Kallars. The Commission visited a few typical villages, a high school and hostel, and the Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar College near Usilampatti. The dire poverty and the utterly low standard of life of the Kallar community in this area has to be seen to the believed. Even in the hostels maintained for the Kallar boys the standard of nutrition is so poor because with the allowance of Rs.20 per boy adequate food cannot be supplied. The Commission felt that there is very strong case for **increasing** the residential scholarship allowance immediately so that these children coming from utterly wretched homes can lead a healthier life. It is also commendable that the Kallars are trying to raise funds for improving the College and large assistance is sought from the Government for expanding the College campus. A spirit of self-help should be instilled into them so that by voluntary labour they could supplement the efforts of Government in the various reclamation schemes.

The Maravars or Thevars of Madurai like their kinsmen from Tirunelveli expressed their request that as they are also denotified tribes, schemes similar to the Kallar Reclamation Schemes should be undertaken for their benefit. In the villages that we visited and from the oral evidence

tendered, it cannot be inferred that there is substantial difference educationally and economically between the Kallars and the Maravars except that amongst the latter there were many Zamindars. The circumstances that led to the discrimination in favour of Kallars for reclamation work are being examined separately. It was the existence of Zamindari system that appear to have led to the depression of the bulk of the Marava and Kalla communities. The old Zamindars appear to have kept them under psuedo slavery. Our impression is that wherever there was a Zamindari system, the rest of the population was comparatively worse off.

Though the Kallar and the Maravar representatives claimed to be Mukkulathors and identified the third section, Agamudayans, as part of their clan, Agamudayans who are known in these areas as 'Servais', gave the impression of standing aloof. The Agamudayan deputations, both from Madurai and Rannad districts, who met us, gave us the impression that though there is interdinging they are not completely one with the Kallars and Maravars. They gave an impression that they have more in common with the more prosperous Agamudayans of Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli districts. They also claim to be backward and desired to be treated as 'most backward', but they did not make any comparison with the Kallars who are getting reclamation facilities. On the whole the majority of the Agamudayans who are to be found in larger numbers in Ramanathapuram appear to be slightly better off economically and educationally than the Kallars, and Maravars.

Another big community, which appears to be almost in the lower level of most backward communities is the Valaian community. These people are found in most of the villages of Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts wherever the Kallars and Maravars live. Their main occupation appears to be catching birds, crabs, etc. and some do fishing as well. They expressed a very strong desire to be included among the Scheduled Castes as their conditions of life according to them is more wretched than any other backward or most backward community. In spite of their population exceeding over 1½ lakhs the number of educated people is utterly insignificant. Their case for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Castes would however depend upon elements of untouchability. In a separate memorandum they have stressed the necessity for a special reclamation scheme on the lines of the Kallar reclamation scheme for their community.

The Commission received a few deputations from the Meenavars (fishermen community). There are Hindus, Christians as well as Muslims and a sense of discontent prevails because the non-Hindu fishermen are not treated as Meenavars for scholarship facilities, etc. This is a part of the general question. The Commission visited Mandapam cold storage and boat building yard and witnessed the repair facilities and other schemes undertaken by the Fisheries department. There is a strong case for acquiring the dry-dock of the Central Government for the benefit of the local fishing boats. There seems to be unlimited demand for more power boats and repair facilities. This is being examined separately. Both the Assistant Director of Fisheries, Ramanathapuram and the representatives of the fishermen community made a suggestion to us that the fishing rights in the inland tanks, which are numerous at least in Madurai district should normally be given to co-operatives of the fishermen community or to the leaders of the fishermen community. The system of selling fishing rights by open auction enables capitalists of other communities to acquire this right to the detriment of the actual fishermen.

We discovered a few communities which are neither in the Census nor in the list of present Backward Communities. These are Illathu-pillaimars (Elavans) Pondia Vellalas and Ovachans. .

The Illathu Pillaimars have run into difficulties in getting scholarships because the name for their community given in the Backward Classes list is Elavans. In view of the fact that the Illathu Pillaimar name is getting more and more popular on account of its responsibility in drawing up the revised list this should be taken into consideration.

The same observation holds good with the Pandia Vellala or the Panan. Panan appears as a Scheduled Caste in Kanyakumari and Shencottah list and these people really belong to the same community and many of them still have marriage connections with the Panans of Kanyakumari. So the Panan should find a place in the Tamil Nadu list as well. In view of the fact that the terms Vellala and Pillai are assumed by several communities in their desire to elevate their position socially are running into difficulties and some way should be found to accord to them the benefits.

Ovachar is actually an old TAMILIAN community and it is surprising that it is not found either in the Census list of castes or in our backward list. This community is allied socially to the Kamban community of Kanyakumari district and their original occupation was temple menial service. This community should also find a place as a most backward class.

Similar difficulties are experienced by the community which is referred to in the Backward Classes list as Yoggeswarar. They are adopting the term 'Pandaram' as a caste name, but they claimed that they are not Andipandaram which is in the Backward Classes list. There are a few other communities which have the title 'Pandaram' too. So the entry relating to Yoggeswara has to be properly amplified.

There are three important weaver communities in these two districts, viz. (1) the Sourashtra or Pattunoolkaran, (2) the Salians and (3) the Devangars, besides the Kaikolan or Senguntha Mudaliars, which is spread throughout the State. The Commission also visited a Sourashtra Street at Paramakkudi. The depression that has overtaken the handloom trade has affected all the three communities, nevertheless the Sourashtras of Madurai town are comparatively more advanced educationally and economically than their kinsmen elsewhere and also the other weaving communities, viz. Salians or Devangars. There is a class of Master Weavers, who own 20 or more looms. Some of them own even 200 or more looms. The Master Weavers are definitely more prosperous than the actual weavers, whom they employ. Judged merely by the number of young men and women in schools and colleges and technical institutions and even taking the number of men in Government services, the Sourashtras especially of Madurai are comparatively more advanced than many of the backward communities.

The Salians appear in the list of Backward Classes, but not in the Census list of castes. The entry 'Salee' in the Census list obviously refers to this community judged by the total population and its spread in two districts of Rannad and Madurai. The Devanga which is also a weaving community appears to be mid-way between the Sourashtras and the Salians in education and economic advancement.

As in other districts, we also received representations from the Barbers and Washermen communities and their claim that they should be included in the Scheduled Castes list was very strongly urged. In fact

the request for inclusion in the Scheduled Castes list came from number of other communities also. The case of the Vannans and the Navithans for inclusion in the Scheduled Castes list is being separately examined. During our stay at Madurai, we visited the Dhibikana on the Vaigai bank and also the school run by them.

For the first time in our tours we met a deputation of the Arya Vaisya community commonly known as Kommutti-Chetty. They are generally regarded as a prosperous trading community. Nevertheless they represented that they are educationally very backward and they have very little share in Government Services. They desired that their plea for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes must be favourably considered. They also promised that a representation on behalf of their people will be made in Madras.

Two other communities, which are generally regarded as forward, also made similar representations, viz. the Nagarathars and Vellalas. The point made by the Nagarathars was that after the expropriation of their property and business in the neighbouring countries of Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, etc. their prosperity has completely declined and many members of the families who were originally depending on this foreign business, are now left without any chance of making a decent living in their traditional business of money lending. They appear to be influenced by the fact that their young men and women are not able to get into medical colleges in large numbers, and they also think that their representation in Government services is meagre. It was however, pointed out to them that backwardness is comparative and judged by comparative standards, for a community of less than one lakh people there is no justification for their grievance that they are educationally backward or they are not adequately represented in Government services.

The Vellala representation was made on behalf of the Vellala Perumakkal Sangam, Nilakkottai, supposed to represent 42 sections of the Vellala community. When they were asked whether this Sangam would include Isai Vellalas and Pandia Vellalas, they stated that their Sangam represents all Vellalas including the vegetarians and non-vegetarians and that Sri P.T. Rajan is the President of their Sangam and a representation on their behalf will be further made in Madras by their State leaders.

Another interesting line of evidence came from the Vadugan or Naidu Community. It was claimed that the term Vadugan or Naidu represents all Telugu speaking people. Thiru Srinivasan, M.L.A., Virudhunagar, who led one of the deputations, after criticising the composition and terms of reference of the Commission itself, went on to plead that the Kammars or Kammavars who are not now treated as a backward class should also be treated as a backward class as they all in no way distinguishable from the Gavaras or the Balijas or the other Naickers or Naidus. The scope of the existing entries in the Backward Classes list has necessarily to be very carefully examined. Thiru Srinivasan went on to say that all non-tamil speaking communities should be regarded as linguistic minorities and should be treated as Backward communities. This of course appears to the Commission to be a very tall request.

There were several Muslim representations and all of them spoke in general terms about their backwardness and especially about the inadequacy of their representations in services. One witness made an interesting differentiation between Labbais, Kakas, Marakayars and

Rowthars. But no attempt was made to answer the questionnaire with appropriate details to establish their claim of non-advancement. Our attention was particularly drawn to the problems arising from repatriation. It was said that still three lakhs are expected and most of them are likely to be Muslims.

The representation of the Potter and Senaithalaivan communities mentioned the difficulties in obtaining the certificates for scholarships in view of the diverse names and titles used by their people. This complaint has been voiced by other communities as well. The potters particularly drew the attention of the Commission to the declining in their traditional occupation and the necessity for giving encouragement. They also mentioned that difficulties are raised in Municipalities and Panchayat Unions about the location of their kilns for firing pottery.

The Commission went into the question of economic backwardness of Ramanathapuram district at greater length than it did in the case of other districts. It is a dry area without minor or major irrigation facilities. Its average rainfall is poor and drought conditions are almost perennial. The claims were made for diverting the meagre waters of Vaigai from Vaigai dam into various tracts in Ramanathapuram districts. Most of the suggestions are not feasible. But the scope for improving their rainfed tanks in this area has to be studied more intensively. The need for providing drinking water in these areas is really acute and there is also ample scope for opening new schools and colleges and conversion of many of the schools into boarding schools if the conditions of the backward communities in this backward area are to improve. Great hope is vested by many people in the Sethusamudram Project, which, if it materialises, would encourage the growth of many subsidiary industries and provide scope for employment of large numbers of skilled and unskilled labour. The possibility of basic industries based on the products of palmyrah palm require to be more systematically examined. So also there is a need for making a more intensive geological survey and for the utilisation of Gypsum and lime stone and other products in this area. A detailed economic survey of Ramanathapuram district is a prime necessity.

It was brought home to the Commission by several witnesses - educational officers as well as representatives of communities - that there is extensive abuse of the scholarship facilities by forward communities using the name of a backward community and also by parents, who are economically very well off by getting certificates of low income. It was discussed with the District Welfare Officers and the Director of Backward Classes and a suggestion was made that a percentage spot physical check should be made by a team of officers visiting the address of selected applicants for scholarships.

Though several instances of the failure of co-operative efforts were made known to us, almost every one of the artisan and craftsmen communities pleaded for more co-operative societies. Potters, tree-tappers, weavers and fishermen (coastal as well as inland) pleaded for encouragement of more co-operatives. The reason for this request for extension of co-operation, is the ease with which money could be obtained for their various professions and industries. The scope for starting co-operative societies deserves to be very carefully examined and wherever possible these societies especially of potters, fishermen, weavers, etc. should be started. While amongst the weavers there has been a general complaint against power looms, surprisingly the representatives of Sourashtras of Madurai town pleaded for the grant of more power looms. This exposes the diversity of interest between the master weavers and the actual weavers. The Master Weavers want power looms for co-operatives as well as for individuals.



A request was made from the Ramanathapuram district representatives for more industrial training schools for various types of craftsmen especially in view of the Sethusamudram Project's materialisation, but we found that the men who passed out from the existing institutions have not found suitable occupations yet. Here again, an irreconcilable pattern of demand for more industrial training and absence of adequate employment is seen. This is however, not peculiar to this district alone.

The representatives of almost all the artisan and professional castes complained that nationalised banks have shown no interest in extending credit facilities to them. In view of the appointment of certain banks as 'lead banks', the Commission is examining the possibility of making specific suggestions for bank help in the backward districts to these 'lead banks'.

### MADURAI DISTRICT

#### Demographic Data

District Population (projected for 1971)	..	38,16,282
Percentage to State population	..	9.5%
Density of population (1961)-district	..	660 per square mile.
Density of population (1961)-State	..	672 per square mile.
Percentage of Urban population 1961-district	..	31.6%
Percentage of Urban population 1961-State	..	26.69% for the State.

#### Religious Composition and Decennial Variation (1921-1961).

		1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
		percentage.	percentage.	percentage.	percentage.	percentage.
Hindu	..	90.51	90.03	89.70	90.29	89.60
Christians.		3.85	3.84	3.62	3.30	3.74
Muslims	..	5.62	6.11	6.65	6.35	6.26
Others	..	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.06	0.40
Total	..	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Major Backward Classes and their size for 1971.

<u>Caste</u>		<u>Population for 1971.</u>
1. Agamudaiyan	..	1,14,690
2. Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	..	82,060
3. Kallan	..	3,43,157
4. Kammalan	..	1,87,715
5. Kuruba, Kurumba	..	33,481
6. Kulala	..	41,299
7. Labbai	..	1,02,702
8. Maravan	..	1,02,343
9. Maruthuvan	..	36,515
10. Oddan	..	58,930
11. Sowrashtra	..	72,066
12. Vadugan	..	44,555
13. Vakkaliga	..	47,815
14. Valaiyan	..	1,62,825
15. Vannan	..	57,616
16. Vanniakula Kshatriya	..	47,385
17. Yadhava	..	99,592
Scheduled Caste ..		5,82,697

Literacy percentage 1961.

	<u>All</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Madurai district average ..	33.38	48.12	18.62
State average ..	31.41	44.54	18.17

RAMANATHAPURAM.Demographic Data

District population (projected for 1971)	..	28,78,098
Percentage to State population	..	7.2%
Density of population (1961)-district	..	502 per square mile.
Density of population (1961)-State	..	26.69 percent for the State.

Religious Composition and Decennial Variation

Religious Group.	1921 percentage.	1931 percentage.	1941 percentage.	1951 percentage.	1961 percentage.
Hindus ..	88.31	88.08	87.74	87.58	88.11
Muslims ..	6.75	6.59	7.24	7.39	6.48
Christians.	4.94	5.33	5.02	50.01	5.39
Others ..	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02
Total ..	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Major Backward Classes and their size for 1971.

1. Agamudaiyan	..	1,75,899
2. Devanga	..	34,074
3. Kallan	..	83,444
4. Kammalan	..	1,10,042
5. Kusavan	..	30,868
6. Labbai	..	1,15,687
7. Maravar	..	2,69,873
8. Nadar	..	2,06,780
9. Saliyan	..	38,316
10. Valaiyan	..	1,48,119
11. Vannan	..	34,043
12. Yadhava	..	2,26,081

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Scheduled Castes	..	4,43,599
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Literacy Percentage 1961.

	<u>All</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
District average	.. 32.11	48.34	16.79
State average	.. 31.41	44.54	18.17

SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

The Commission toured the South Arcot district from 11th to 15th March 1970. Thiru M.A. Jamal Hussain, Member, joined the Commission at Chidambaram on the 13th and both the Members left for Madras from Cuddalore on the 14th evening while the Chairman alone did the touring of the villages round about Marungur in Kadampuliyur Block on the 15th. Unlike in the other district, the Commission visited a considerably larger number of block and union centres and received a larger number of representations both oral and written. A number of visits to unscheduled villages were also made to obtain first hand information of the living conditions of the people. At a later stage on our way to Salem we visited some important centres in the Kallakurichi taluk which we could not undertake during this tour. On 18th June 1970, we received representations at Thiagadurgam and Chinna Salem. In addition to the major backward communities we met during our earlier tour in these two places we had representations from Thuluva Vellalas and the Malayaman branch of the Parakavakulam. In fact we met representatives of the Thuluva Vellalas for the first time at Thiagadurgam and it can also be said that we got some information about the Parakavakulam also for the first time here, after our disappointing contacts with this community at Thanjavur.

Social Structure:

In the social structure, the peculiarity in this district is that the Harijans constitute roughly 30% of the population and of the rest the Vanniars occupy a numerically-predominant position accounting for anything from 60% to 90% of the non-Harijan population in many areas. There is no other single major community, whose population can be counted in lakhs barring the fishermen community (Inland and coastal). Another peculiarity is that there are converts to the Roman Catholic faith from almost all the Backward and Scheduled Castes and massive representations were received in most of the centres we visited from representatives of converts from the Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes.

The usual reply that Christians are outside the terms of reference was given to them, but nevertheless the representations were received and their grievances were heard.

#### Vanniakula Kshatriya:

The Vanniakula Kshatriya community inspite of its numerical predominance is suffering from severe social and economic handicaps. The social handicaps are derived from their dependence on the socially and politically dominant Reddiar, Naidu and Vellala communities, who happen to be the major landlords in many of the rural areas. The dominant castes exercise their influence in many subtle ways to keep the others down. The economic handicaps are derived from their complete dependence on agriculture, as barring a small percentage who may own an acre or two of dry land the majority of them are landless tenants or labourers in the villages, which we visited namely Vegakollai, Visavakuppam in Kadampuliur Block. There are of course a handful of well-to-do landlords in this caste also.

The people belonging to this community live in conditions of dire distress and squalour. The fact that in many villages they breed pigs as a subsidiary source of income itself is an indication of their degrading poverty. To the question put by the Commission as to why by their own efforts they were not able to elevate themselves to a better position, the reply given in most of the places was that they are unaware of the possibilities for improvement and their poverty stands in the way of any concerted action, and they are easily coerced and subjugated by the landlords and money-lending classes.

#### Education:

Regarding education, this district does not appear to be very well served. There is a keen demand for more high schools and higher elementary schools, especially in the Gingee, Sethiathope and Tirukoilur areas. There are very few hostels attached to the schools, and the accommodation available in the Harijan Welfare Hostels hardly meets the demand of the Backward Classes students. There is a strong case for providing hostel accommodation in many of the centres where high schools are situated and for providing more high schools in areas where the existing number of elementary schools justify the location of a high school at a central place. The S.S.L.C. results in many of the schools for which we obtained information are far from satisfactory. One redeeming feature is that we met a large number of elementary school teachers in three of the centres we visited. They were very enthusiastic and gave us valuable suggestions for improving education at that level. They also pleaded that in order to improve the tone of education, elementary school teachers should at least be provided with housing facilities.

#### Annamalai University:

We had some discussions with representatives of the Annamalai University. There is considerable discontent among students from Backward Classes who alleged that they do not get enough accommodation in the hostels, and in the matter of admission to the University also they do not get adequate representation. A suggestion was put forward by the people of Chidambaram in general and by the representatives of Chidambaram taluk of the Vanniakula Kshatriya community in the whole district that the University should give first preference to local applicants. There was also a grievance that the University authorities disbursed the scholarship amounts very late, thus inconveniencing many of the poorer students. All these were mentioned to the University authorities. In view of the fact that this is a residential University located in a comparatively

backward area, the Commission asked the University authorities about the steps they are taking to encourage talent. This is a pertinent question in view of the general impression that Annamalai University students do not fare well in competitive examinations and very few of them have been able to get service in well-paid commercial and industrial establishments. The Professors, who talked to us, admitted that though there is no lack of intelligence among the students from the Backward Communities, who constitute the majority, yet they do not develop adequate personality qualifications which largely determine the selection for the higher services and for commercial services as well. The Commission impressed on the Professors that some scheme should be devised to locate talent in the P.U.C. level so that students with good potentiality are given special attention to enable them to compete successfully with forward community students. It was pointed out to us that though in the matter of getting First Class or distinctions, Backward Community students do not do as well as the others, yet there are many who have aptitude for research and are doing useful research work at the Post-graduate level.

#### Neyveli employment:

At Neyveli, we took up with the Corporation authorities the question of employment opportunities for local people. Though for casual labour and for manual labour inevitably local men are employed, in semi-skilled and skilled ranks and in office and superior establishments, we heard a complaint that neither local men nor even men from the State have been given adequate representation. The Corporation authorities promised to give us detailed classified statements for these categories. Being the biggest industrial complex in this area, it was impressed on the authorities that the local people should have the satisfaction that it is providing them with adequate employment opportunities at all levels.

#### Villayankuppam Padayachi:

The representatives of the displaced Padayachi people, who originally belonged to the Denotified Tribes of Villayankuppam Padayachi, met us in large numbers. Villayankuppam and its connected hamlets where actually in the area now occupied by the Neyveli mining complex. The displaced persons whom we met are the descendants of the people, who ~~were~~ once declared as "criminal tribe". Even after they were denotified, they complained that nothing was done to improve their economic or educational condition and that when they were dislodged from their original villages the compensation given to them was very meagre. Apart from one or two settlements assigned for them, there was no provision made to house all the displaced persons suitably and to provide them with adequate means of livelihood. The compensation money was hardly enough to buy cultivable land in the distant villages in the Kadampuliyur block to which they migrated. It is also stated that the Denotified Padayachis are not confined to the Villayankuppam group of villages. The leaders of the community promised to give the Commission a detailed account of the Criminal Tribe Act and to subsequent denotification.

In view of the declaration of a section of Padayachi community as a criminal tribe, a claim has been made in many places that a reclamation work on the model of the Kallar Reclamation work should be undertaken to benefit the Vanniakula Kshatriya community in the whole district. The history of the application of the criminal Tribes Act is being examined separately.

### Fishermen:

There is a fairly large community of inland fishermen in many of the villages. A very admirable institution consisting of a High School and a hostel is being run by this community in Kattumannarkoil and the Government is giving a very liberal grant annually to that institution. The institution deserves continued encouragement. The representatives of the fishermen community in various places pleaded that this should be included in the list of Scheduled Castes as in practice untouchability is practised against them. Their other grievances were that in most of the markets run by Municipalities and Unions, stalls for fishing are not promoted. Various relief measures are called for if this community is to improve its economic status, as very few of them are in a position to take to other occupations. The case of the fishermen, both coastal and inland, is being examined separately.

### Agamudayan - Udayar:

There is a fairly large community of Agamudayans scattered throughout the district. They are known as Udayars locally. Different claims have been made on their behalf. Our impression after hearing various representations is that the Agamudayans or Udayars of South Arcot are different from the Agamudayans of Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli and Ramnad districts who are a branch of the 'Mukulathor' community. Their economic position may perhaps be slightly superior to that of the big majority community in the district. But none of them have claimed that Agamudaya Udayars of this district are Thuluva Vellalas. Unfortunately owing to the clubbing of these two names in the list of Backward Classes, there is a tendency to enter in the school records the composite description. But it is quite obvious that the Udayars are not Thuluva Vellalas at least in this district. This matter is being examined further.

There were only two solitary representatives of the Virakodi Vellala community coming before the Commission. Neither of them was in a position to give a proper description of the conditions of this community. But they said that the community is in larger numbers in Kallakurichi taluk which we could not visit during this tour.

We received several representatives from the Isai Vellala community. Their main thesis was that they have been discriminated against because only the Isai Vellalas of Thanjavur district are treated as "Most Backward". They were unable to tell us why this discrimination was made and why they did not protest against it earlier, if this discrimination was unjustified socially and economically. It was also mentioned to us that there is some inter-mixture between the Isai Vellalas and Kaikola Sengunthar Mudaliars in some parts of the district. The reasons for the discrimination as well as their claim that the Kaikola Senguntha Mudaliar community is absorbing Isai Vellalas need further examination.

The smaller castes like Yadhavas, Barbers, Washermen, Vanians, etc., also appeared before us and their plea was similar to that raised by their fellow-castemen in other districts. The Yadhavas particularly of this district appear to be suffering from a definite inferiority complex and their economic position is also not as satisfactory as their castemen in Madurai and in Tirunelveli districts. But one interesting feature is the practice of tending large flocks of sheep and goats has completely disappeared in this area perhaps due to the absence of sufficient pasture land.

Most of the areas in South Arcot district are not served by canal irrigation. The success of agriculture is depending entirely on the

monsoon and on bore wells. In many places water cannot be had even for drinking purposes unless one goes down to a depth below 150 feet. Even now dirty and muddy ponds are the only source of drinking water - the ponds serving various other purposes for human beings and cattle as well. Drinking water is a major problem in a number of blocks, though here and there enterprising Panchayats have managed to have bore wells with overhead tanks in a few villages. But for cultivation a bore well is beyond the reach of the ordinary small farmer or a tenant as it costs over Rs.20,000. As most of the peasants cannot afford this and are not able to devise other measures of combining together the bore well is still a monopoly of the landlord and of the big farmer. The soil appears to be good and yields rich crop of sugarcane and cereals wherever bore well irrigation is possible. The most important problem of the district is provision of drinking water, and making bore wells irrigation more accessible to the small farmers. The Commission advised the representatives of the various Backward Communities who met us to draw a comprehensive plan for the development of the district from the point of view of amelioration of the Backward Classes. At least as far as this district is concerned their condition is in no way better than that of Harijans, economically and educationally. The only saving grace is that they are not socially treated as untouchables.

#### Yavanas:

A representation was made by a group of people describing themselves as Yavanas to the Government of Tamil Nadu requesting that they should be classified as a Scheduled Tribe. We sent for some members of this community and the local District Welfare Officer was able to collect some Yavanas and bring them before us. From our interrogations, we ascertained that they are hardly distinguishable from ordinary nomadic tribes and that they should be properly included in the category of Scheduled Tribes. Most of them live in the hilly areas, eking their living by hunting birds, small animals and making baskets. Surprisingly this caste is not to be found either in the Census list or in the lists of Backward Classes or Scheduled Castes and Tribes maintained by the Government of Tamil Nadu. This is the only, till now unknown, caste which the Commission was able to locate in this district.

#### Economy:

Everywhere requests were made that more industries should be provided. The main cash crops here are cashew, groundnuts and sugarcane. Requests were made that co-operative sugar mills should be started in Gingee, Sethiathope and in a few other centres so that the distances to the existing sugar mills would be reduced. This will enable them to get better price and reduce the cost of transport and other wages. This will also avoid the wastage in converting sugarcane juice into jaggery as all canes cannot be taken to the factory. Though there are extensive cashew cultivations, apart from one modernised factory, the rest of the crop is handled purely on a cottage industry basis in homes, and Panrutti offers the main market. A few modern cashew factories on the lines of the factories in the Kerala region would provide more occupation, improve the price for the cultivator and enable byproducts of the cashew industry also to be developed and marketed more scientifically. The improvement of industries in this area largely depend on the provision of more and better link roads, more bridges and better water and electric supply. All these aspects are being examined separately.

#### Proportional representation:

The representatives of the Vanniakula Kshatriya community, who appeared before us in very large numbers, unanimously demanded that they

should get representation proportional to the population in all educational including higher educational institutions, similar representations in all local services at the Unions, district level, and they were emphatic in their demand for a similar representation in the State and Central Services. We were requested to persuade the State Government to move the Central Government to arrange for similar proportional representation in Central Government services and in the public and private sector undertakings atleast in the State. It is interesting that this demand for proportional representation has come from almost all the communities. This demand has risen from the fact that the Harijans, who form the second biggest block in this district, get proportional reservation in educational institutions and in services; and the other communities cannot understand why they are discriminated against. Another grievance which the representatives of the Vanniakula Kshatriya community made to us was that they have no officer of gazetted status in any department of the State in their district. They also said that no one from their community has so far been selected as Law Officer (Public Prosecutor, Government Pleader, etc.) anywhere in the State. This grievance is further aggravated by the large scale unemployment among educated men in this community. They have also pointed out that in all the Bars in the district, there are lawyers coming from the Community, who are qualified to be appointed as Law Officers or as Judicial Officers.

#### Local Finance:

In every centre we visited we realised that the Unions were unable to meet the requirements of the local people in the matter of minor roads, bridges, wells, etc. Repeated requests from the people were turned down because the estimate of expenditure was above the financial powers of the Unions, or the Unions did not have any funds to spend on these essential primary improvements. An examination of the financial position of the local institutions is, therefore, imperative, if these local authorities are to function efficiently and satisfy the primary needs of the local population.

#### SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT

##### Demographic Data

District population (projected for 1971)	.. 36,22,268
Percentage to State population	.. 9.1%
Density of population (1961) District 724 per .. square mile	
Density of population (1961) State 772 for the State.	
Percentage of Urban population 1961 district	.. 12.87 per cent
Percentage of Urban population (1961) State	.. 26.69 percent for the State.

#### Religious Composition and Decennial Variation (1921-1961).

Religious Groups.	1921 percentage	1931 percentage	1941 percentage	1951 percentage	1961 percentage
Hindus ..	94.12	93.77	93.94	94.36	93.47
Muslims ..	2.89	3.10	3.22	3.15	3.24
Christians ..	2.79	2.93	2.59	2.31	2.99
Others ..	0.20	0.20	0.25	0.18	0.30
Total ..	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00



Major Backward Classes and their size for 1971.

1. Kaikolan	..	..	..	78,181
2. Kammalan	..	..	..	88,985
3. Maruthuvar	..	..	..	43,427
4. Oddar	..	..	..	42,756
5. Parkavakulam	..	..	..	83,398
6. Vanian	..	..	..	42,210
7. Vannan	..	..	..	44,242
8. Vanniakula Kshatriya	..	..	..	13,36,597
9. Yadhava	..	..	..	1,66,448
<hr/>				
10. Scheduled Castes	..	..	..	9,52,912

Literacy Percentage

	<u>All</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
District average	.. 26.71	40.55	12.65
State average	.. 31.41	44.54	18.17

NORTH ARCOT DISTRICT.

The Commission toured the North Arcot district from the 20th to 23rd March, 1970 and in addition to receiving representations at the district headquarters, the Commission visited a number of towns and villages, such as Ramasanikuppam, Onnupuram, Arni, Cheyyar, Melamanovur, Kattukolai, Veppankal, Pallikonda, Gudiyatham, Bhuvaneswarapetti, Kelur, Polur and Wallaja. In these places in addition to receiving written representations and taking oral evidence from the Backward Communities, the Commission visited the habitations, particularly of weavers belonging to different communities, fishermen, Odders, Vanniakula Kshatriya and other Backward and Most Backward people to ascertain the living conditions. Some of the worst living conditions were noticed in the hamlet, called Chinna Allapuram just on the outskirts of Vellore City itself, where Muslims and Vanniakula Kshatriyas live in conditions of abject squalour without facilities for drinking water and under the most insanitary conditions.

Social Structure:

The social pattern in this district is slightly different from that of South Arcot district, though as in the latter district the most numerous Backward Community here too is the "Vanniakula Kshatriya". According to the Collector's estimate their population is about 11 lakhs. In addition there are number of other Backward Communities, who are found in larger numbers, for example Muslims, Idayars and the different weaving communities. The most numerous among the weaving communities is the Kaikolas. The dominant castes in this district are said to be the Kammas and the Mudaliars and not Reddiars as in the South Arcot district. Complaints similar to those voiced against the Reddiars of South Arcot are also voiced against the Kammas and the Mudaliars. It is alleged that the caste ramification and the political forces in this district have worked adversely against the Vanniakula Kshatriyas as they complained that inspite of their enormous population of nearly 11 lakhs, they could return only 4 Vanniars to the Tamil Nadu Assembly. The grievance against the domination of other castes both at the local level and at the Madras political level is much more pronounced. Many of the Backward Castes

two of the subsidiary occupations available in this area. Considerable efforts require to be taken for the rehabilitation of the weaving communities. Rehabilitation should take the form primarily of improving their housing, water supply and sanitation; secondly easy loan facilities either through the banks or through the co-operatives should be made available to them. There also appears to be enough scope for organising co-operatives for the sale of their products.

#### Other Backward Classes:

Among the Backward Communities, who represented their grievances to us, mention must be made particularly of the Kulala (potters), the Vanians (oil mongers), the Oddars and the Boya, the Goldsmiths, the Karuneegars, the Maharatta non-Brahmins, the Vadugans, the Dommara and the inland fishermen. There were a few tribals also who came to our notice. The grievances of the Vanians are similar to those represented elsewhere and do not therefore invite any special remarks here.

#### Potters:

The Potters complained they generally live isolated from the rest of the village community and mentioned that they have not at all been looked after properly by the State Government. They complained bitterly about the denial of admissions to the few boys and girls from amongst them in schools and colleges. Even the few educated graduates remain unemployed. As regards the exercise of their profession of pottery making, they complained that the Panchayat Unions demand licence for their kilns. They also mentioned that in the markets maintained in the Municipalities and Union, market fee is demanded for displaying and selling their wares and that their products are cheap and the total sale would hardly amount to a few rupees and hence their wares should be exempted from market levies. There is no means of increasing their earnings as the demand for pottery is coming down and potters are unable to take up any alternative occupation. Another difficulty they experience is securing clay for making pots. They requested that they should be given the right to excavate clay from reverse side areas without hindrance, especially as after the removal, such lands become better cultivable. They also requested that as it is done for Harijans, sewing machines should be supplied to their women folk who could make tailoring a subsidiary occupation. They also required that they should be supplied more modern tools for turning out pots through the Khadi and Village Industries Board.

#### Odda, Boya:

The Oddars are known by different names, Odda (Vodda or Vadde, Voddai). Their request is that they should be included in the list of Scheduled Castes. These people are found in larger numbers in Salem and Coimbatore districts. Their representatives stated that all of them call themselves Naidus, and that there are different branches coming under the description Athirajakulakanrayar, Vayarajukkal, Kalloddar, Upparaver, etc. The term 'Upparava' is applied to those who dig wells. Athirajakulakanrayar, Vayarajakkal refer to the people who generally talk Telugu. In some places 'Oddars' are regarded as untouchable. There are some people called Petha Oddar, Suramari Oddar, Petha Boya. They would prefer all these communities to be treated as one and to be classified as Boya. It was claimed that this community appears in the list of Scheduled Castes both in Mysore and Andhra Pradesh. Their living conditions are of the poorest and are worse than the poorer amongst Scheduled Castes. They rear and eat pigs and many live on road sides and on the outskirts of villages. Their case for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Castes deserves further examination.

### Indian Christian:

The Indian Christian community (both Catholic and Protestant) presented a memorandum and came in a very large deputation before us at Vellore. To them also the terms of reference were explained. They took objection to the Backward Classes question being examined on caste basis though it was repeatedly explained to them that the list of Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes maintained by the Government of Tamil Nadu are only lists of Hindu castes with two exceptions, viz. Labbais and converts to Christianity from the Scheduled Castes (only persons who are themselves converts) item 152 in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list and even this would not apply to converts from Christianity from other castes. After stressing the illegality of the classification based on castes under the Constitution, they pointed out that the question of converts to Christianity could also be considered on a caste basis since there are converts from all castes among Christians. They urged that the Commission should recommend to the Government to revise the terms of reference, if the Commission thought it was necessary. They further went on to argue that all Christians are converts to Christianity within the meaning of item 52 quoted above. The basis for this contention was that persons become Christians only after baptism and therefore all Christians are really converts as they were not born as Christians. This, of course, is an argument based on doctrinal refinement, which, the Chairman said, he was not competent to discuss. The emphasis of this deputation at Vellore was that all Scheduled Castes converts to Christianity should be treated on par with their Scheduled Castes brethren. They did not argue very seriously about the claim of converts from other castes into Christianity as similar deputations of Christians did as for example in South Arcot district but desired that no distinction on ground of religion should be made in dealing with Backward Castes.

### Muslims:

There is a fairly large population of Muslims in this district, larger than in some other districts we had visited. According to the 1921 Census, Muslims are enumerated under the categories of Labbais (35456) Pattern (13870), Sayed (13663), Shaik (50477), the total thus accounting for about 1,12,000 roughly. Applying the usual method of projecting population, the present population of Muslims of all these categories in this district should be near about 2 lakhs. The various Muslims deputations, who met us, criticized the Census classification and did not admit that any such differentiation among Muslims actually exist in practice. Nobody claimed to be Shaiks, Patterns and Sayed amongst those who met us. It is obvious that there is a large number of Urdu speaking Muslims in this district and the general representation was that no distinction should be drawn between Tamil speaking Muslims and Urdu speaking Muslims. Obviously the Urdu speaking Muslims have been experiencing difficulties in getting admission to colleges and to services against the 25% quota for Backward Communities. Some Urdu speaking Muslims do declare themselves as Labbais, but there is a general repugnance to such practice. Urdu speaking Muslims are definitely not of a higher social or economic status, and educationally too, they are not definitely better off than their Tamil speaking brethren. Urdu speaking Muslims work as beedi rollers, and in Polur they claimed they are working in betal leaf as obviously - Tamil speaking Muslims. In hides and skins business where Muslims are the capitalists, the actual work of tanning and preparing hides and skins is not done by Muslims. A suggestion was made that if a training school in leather technology is opened in the neighbourhood of Vellore or Gudiyatham, Muslims would get

\*farms. The few well-to-do capitalists among Muslims

Mahratta, Non-Brahmins:

The Mahratta Non-Brahmins who now figure in the Backward Classes list represented before us that they should be described as Namadeva Maharattas. They said that there are no caste-divisions inside them and only functional differences. Apart from their grievance that they do not have very large number of men in services, there does not appear to be any substance in their demand for inclusion in the list of Most Backward Classes.

Goldsmiths:

The Goldsmiths Association which seems to be fairly strong in this district, confined their representation mostly to be difficulties arising out of the Gold control order and the lapse of many of the privileges and benefits for their amelioration. They were advised that these matters should be taken up with the Central Government as the Gold Control was a central measure.

Yadhavas, Idavars:

Though the Yadhavas number nearly 2 lakhs in this district, there was only one representation from the community. The community appears to have become fairly well settled here as cultivators and small farmers. There are few wandering herds of sheep or cattle tended by the members of this community as we noticed in Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts. They have become ordinary cultivators like the bulk of the population, though very few have reached the stage of affluence and their condition is not also different from that of the any other cultivating community.

Kannakkans:

Among the smaller communities; who came before us, are the Kannakkans, the Jains, the Lingayaths and the Idigas. The Kanakkan is a community peculiar to North Arcot and Chingleput districts. This is not in the Backward Classes list. The population is thinly spread over almost all the villages and their hereditary occupation is village accounting. In view of their high literacy and of their traditional aptitude for accounts keeping, their youngmen work as shop assistants and accountants with retail and wholesale traders in the rural and small town areas. But very few appear to have taken to higher education and Government Services. The Kannakkans also call themselves Karuneegars and their usual title is Pillai. In view of the fairly high standard of literacy and their method of living as befitting a professional service caste, their claim to be regarded as Backward, educationally, socially or even economically is not very impressive. There are not labourers in the Community and their Women folk do not labour in the fields, but only attend to household work. Most of them are small land owners. In many aspect they are not different from the Vellalas of Thanjavur and Tirunelveli except that there are no big land lords. But they command considerable influence. They claimed that they are already covered by the term, 'Ganika' in the Backward Classes list. If this was so, it is strange that they had not asserted their claim earlier. Apparently the term 'Ganika' refers to some Andhra community in the composite State. As a Tamilian community, it is not likely to be described by a Sanskrit term. Ordinarily I am advised by Sanskrit scholars that the term 'Ganika' would refer to astrologers. The exact scope of the term 'Ganika' is being examined further, and on merits the Kannakkans have no case based on the information supplied to us. It must also be mentioned that they have not given proper replies to the questionnaire in detail.

Jains.

The Jains are in small numbers in the North Arcot district. Their representatives asserted that their community was in the list of Backward Classes before 1932. They were told to establish this and explain the reasons for the removal of their caste from the list. They were also advised to supply information to the questionnaire in proper detail. But as far as our information goes for a small community they cannot be said to be badly off educationally. As their name is not in the list of Backward Classes, they were told their case is outside the terms of reference. But if complete reply to the questionnaire is supplied, they were advised that their case will be considered on its merits.

Small pockets of the lingayaths or Kannada Veerasaiva Saineegars as they describe themselves are found in several places in South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput districts. They claim to be identical with the Lingayaths in Mysore State. They have also taken to weaving and in Arni most of the prosperous master weavers are of the same community. Even in the weaving profession, their economic condition is better than that of the other weaving communities who regard them as generally wealthy classes. A complete reply to the questionnaire was not furnished by them.

Idiga:

The solitary representative of the Idiga community, himself a lawyer, appeared before us without having made a written representation and complained that this community is very badly treated by the dominant castes. He claimed that the Idiga is the Telugu counterpart of Sanans (tree climbers) and desired that Idigas should be included in the list of Most Backward Classes and be given all the facilities that are given to Scheduled Castes. The witness had no idea of the population of the Idiga caste either in the district or in the State and of the extent of literacy, etc. He promised to obtain further information for submission to the Commission.

Harijans:

Another peculiar experience the Commission had in this district was that we received a number of representations from Harijans, and also from the people who claimed to be Scheduled Tribes. We could not possibly refuse to meet them. The Harijans (Scheduled Castes) complained that welfare measures are not adequate and whatever measures are designed for them are not being administered to them expeditiously. They were advised to approach the local authorities. The approach from several Harijans representatives indicates that in spite of the special ameliorative measures taken, the effectiveness of these measures require to be examined. Some of the Scheduled Castes who saw us complained that nothing is being done to them and they are completely ignored in the scheme of welfare measures.

Lambadi:

The Lambadi community people of the Lambadi colony near Tiruvannamalai met us at Vellore as we could not visit the colony. They represented that they are in All-India Tribe and are identical to the Pinjaras of Maharashtra, and Madhya Pradesh and that their caste is included as a Scheduled Tribe in all the other States. On questioning their habits and methods of life, tribal features are clearly visible. Their case for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Castes and Tribes requires examination.

the necessary experience and take over the actual job of preparing the skins for the market and thus improve their employment prospects. Their other grievances were that some employment opportunities should be made available to their folk at home and better facilities for the education of Muslim girls should be made available. It may be noted that the Muslim community is running two colleges in this district out of a total of 8 colleges they have to their credit in the State.

#### Vadugan:

A deputation claiming to represent the Vadugans community met us at Polur. They claimed that they are neither Kavara, Balija or Kamma, but are simply known as Vadugans and that their primary occupation is selling bangles. Their economic position as it was represented to us is very bad as 75 per cent of them do not own their houses. On further questioning the representatives admitted that they are sometimes known as Valaya Balija, Musukku Balija and Kamma Balija and they are commonly known as Vaduga Naidus. The position of this community will have to be examined only after more representations are heard from Coimbatore district where they claim to be in larger numbers.

#### Dommaras:

The term Dommaras appears in the list of Backward Classes-item 24 in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list and an entry 'Dom', 'Dombara', 'Paidi' or 'Pane' appears in the list of Scheduled Castes as well, item No.15 throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk in Tirunelveli district. Dommaras appears also in the list of Most Backward Classes - Item No.11 and the Dommaras of Thanjavur and North Arcot appears in the list of Denotified Tribes (item No.14). A few representatives of that community, describing themselves as Dhombarrar appeared before us at Polur. They said that they have neither houses nor lands. Their main occupation is rearing pigs. They talk Tamil. They claimed that they are actually Scheduled Tribes, but they have not been getting any of the privileges for Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled Castes so far. The exact classification of these people requires further examination though on the facts available they should really go as a Scheduled Castes-item No.50 as mentioned above.

#### Kuravan:

The representatives of a caste describing themselves as Kuravar appeared before us. They said their main occupation is making baskets; they live mostly on roadsides and have no permanent habitation. They do not appear to have received any attention through the Harijan Welfare department so far. As there is difficulty in getting bamboos, even their traditional occupation is affected. They speak a mixture of many languages. They wanted to be classified as a Scheduled Caste. They are an extremely ill-educated and pathetic lot, and could not describe even their caste name properly. In the list of Scheduled Castes item No.2 has an entry for Kuravan Sidhanar. In the list of Scheduled Tribes B-2, item 7 there is an entry for Koraga. In the list of Backward Classes there are two entries item 63 and 66, Koracha and Kurumba. The exact connotation of these items might be difficult to determine now, but obviously the people, who met us are Kuravans and from what they and a few others belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes told us, it looks as if the concessions for Scheduled Castes are now being enjoyed by a few castes amongst them and the more primitive still remain in their primitive stage.

### General Economic Conditions:

On a superficial survey, the North Arcot district might appear perhaps more prosperous than the South Arcot district. But it is just as ill-favoured industrially as South Arcot district. There was a clamour from all the representatives who met us for more cottage industries and more industries on a co-operative basis. Employment opportunities locally are very meagre. Being a district with more forests, suggestions were made for starting paper mills and factories which would utilise hill products and also for better utilisation of stones and similar forest and hill resources. These require special economic survey. The area grows sugarcane and perhaps a few more co-operative sugar mills should be opened there. There is possibility for extension of the cottage type match factories.

The water table in this region is higher than in South Arcot. Well irrigation is resorted to extensively. As very big bore wells are not necessary, the position of farmers depending on well irrigation is easier. Drinking water problem is just as acute as in South Arcot district in all the village areas. The district is also very badly served in the matter of minor roads and link roads and there is a bitter complaint against the Panchayat administration which appears to be faction-ridden in many areas and dominated by the dominant caste leaders. As a district has a larger number of Most Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and as many of them are still untouched by the benefits of the welfare scheme, there is tremendous scope for expanding educational and medical facilities. A request was made to us for opening more primary health centres and hospitals, and for Backward Classes hostels. The usual request for land for the landless agriculturists, assignment of poramboke lands to those who have already built houses there, State Housing Loans and liberal loan facilities etc., were also made here.

No separate mention is made here of Barbers and Washermen, though several deputations met us, for the simple reasons that their grievances have already been dealt with elsewhere.

All the Backward Communities including the smallest complain that they have been denied their fair shares in Government employment and that their boys and girls find it difficult to get admission to colleges. Their share in Medical, Engineering and other specialised institutes is utterly meagre. The demand for a fair share in the Government Services is universal. They demand for treatment similar to the Scheduled Castes. The prestige value of I.A.S., I.P.S. and Gazetted Services is rated very high and even the smallest communities urge that patronage need be extended to them by some device of proportional representation.

### DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

District population (projected for 1971)	.. 37,39,152
Percentage to State population	.. 9.3%
Density of population 1961-District	.. 671 per square mile.
Density of population 1961-State	.. 672 per square mile
Percentage of urban population-District	.. 20.6%
Percentage of urban population-State	.. 26.69%

do not appear to have developed capable leadership and their M.L.As. and M.Ps. do not appear to have taken sustained interest in their welfare. Though the Backward Communities have captured many seats in the local Panchayats, they have not been able to capture power at the Panchayat Union level. In a number of places they complained against indirect election of the Panchayat Chairman and even wanted direct election. They find it impossible to get their local grievances remedied and their local needs in the matter of irrigation, roads, drinking water wells, etc., secured because of the antipathy of the Union Chairmen, who in many cases are able to secure their election by influencing Panchayat Presidents in the indirect election. Though it was explained to the representatives that these matters are outside the scope of the Commission, they emphasised that because of these political difficulties a climate favourable to them could not be created and in the absence of such a favourable climate their economic difficulties remain unattended to.

#### Vanniakula Kshatrias:

As in South Arcot district, the Vanniakula Kshatrias made massive representations at the district level at Vellore and a large number of local and general representations were received in all the places, the Commission visited. They were emphatic in their demand for separate reservation proportionate to their population in Colleges, particularly in local colleges and in all Government appointments, particularly in appointments within the district. Figures of extensive unemployment both of S.S.L.Cs. and P.U.Cs. as well as of Graduates were mentioned and in many places the unemployed persons themselves appeared before us. The chances of employment in local offices appear to be much more difficult than securing employment in Madras or in the State Services. The suggestion was repeated that in all appointments in the Panchayats and in the district level preference should be given to the Backward Communities of the locality. The Vanniakula Kshatrias use the surname Nayackar, Gounder, and Reddiar and not Padayachi as much as it is known in South Arcot.

#### Weaving communities:

In this district all the traditional weaving communities are to be found in fairly large numbers, viz., the Devangars, the Sengunthars and the Sourashttras. Though the district is famous for Silk and art Silk weaving, the economic plight of the actual weavers is miserable. We saw Sourashttras, Devangars and Kaikolars' living in mud huts without reasonable living facilities; most of the roofs were thatched and almost half exposed to sky. Weaving is carried on under these roofs. Housing is the most important need of the three weaving communities. The Sengunthars appear to be the most depressed, of the three.

The system of master weavers prevalent among the Sourashttras in the Madurai district does not seem to function very effectively here amongst all the three communities. As many of them buy their materials and sell their products in the market directly, their indebtedness seems almost perpetual and very few are in a position to save. Children's education is sadly neglected. In view of the nature of their work and the conditions, under which they work, the incidence of mal-formation amongst the weaving communities and particularly amongst the Sourashttras and the Kaikolars appears to be abnormally high. A health survey will certainly disclose the prevalence of diseases caused by malnutrition and cramped living. In many places young children, who should be attending to schools, are rolling beedies or arranging match sticks in match boxes -



RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION FOR 1961

Hindus	..	..	91.17%
Muslims	..	..	6.32%
Christians	..	..	2.15%
Others	..	..	0.36%
			100.00

MAJOR BACKWARD CLASSES AND THEIR SIZE (1971)

<u>Caste</u>	<u>Population for 1971</u>	
1. Agamudaiyan	..	26,684
2. Kaikolan	..	1,14,946
3. Kammalan	..	1,12,127
4. Kuruba, Kurumba	..	33,327
5. Labbai	..	65,157
6. Maruthuvan	..	40,020
7. Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	..	49,163
8. Oddar	..	66,116
9. Vaniyar	..	48,337
10. Vannan	..	59,573
11. Vanniyakula Kshatriya	..	9,52,211
12. Yadhava	..	1,90,150
Scheduled Caste	..	7,37,735

LITERACY PERCENTAGE (1961)

	<u>All</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
North Arcot district average	24.72	37.12	12.19
State average	31.41	44.54	18.17

NILGIRIS DISTRICT

The Commission held its sittings at Ootacamund from 7th till 9th April 1970. On the 8th, the Commission along with the local M.L.A. Thiru Bojan and other veteran leaders visited a few Badaga villages. Representations from several other communities were received.

Nilgiris is considered as Queen of the hill stations in the South. In summer, it attracts a large number of tourists and holiday-makers especially for the flower-show. In spite of denudation by large scale cutting of the trees for cultivation of potatoes, cabbages, etc. and tea plantations especially in and around the big towns of Ootacamund and Coonoor, it has got a large number of beauty spots with impressive natural sceneries. By construction of dams, three big Hydro-electric projects Pykara, Moyar and Kundah have been executed at very heavy cost and these form the main basis for the industrial development of the State by supply of electric energy.

Among the inhabitants, the Badagas form the single largest group in this district with a population of 84,823 according to 1961 Census. They are mainly agriculturists mostly owning small extents of lands in which they raise potatoes and also tea. The women-folk contribute most of the labour on their own lands. Generally, they do not go in as labourers in the tea estates. They occupy a fairly good status in the

social life and have political influence as they have representatives in the Panchayats, Assembly and Lok Sabha. Educationally, the men-folk have taken up to college education and form the largest group in the local Government college. The women-folk are conservative and in the past, there have not been many lady students in the college. But there is a women's College in Coonoor having a strength of 300 to 400. Another women's college has been started this year in Ooty and so the number of girl students is likely to increase. There is a demand for more hostel facilities especially for girl students, also at the High School stage due to lack of transport facilities.

Among the other smaller communities, the Municipal Chairman who belongs to the Okaliga community stated that they were about 40,000. They seem to be more enterprising agriculturists and also progressing in trade.

Wynad Chettis whose mother tongue is Malayalam and about 600 strong are in Gudalur taluk. They also depend on agriculture. There is only one Graduate and two are studying in the College. They send their boys to Kanyakumari for training, because of the difficulty of language and wanted some extra school hours to be devoted to Tamil.

Moundaden Chettis are about 2,800 strong, in 6 villages in the Gudalur taluk. About 25 per cent are small land owners. There is no graduate in this community and there are about 30 who are educated.

The Harijan Christians (Catholics) represented that they wanted to be given concession on par with Hindu Backward Classes. Their written representations were received. So also, another petition by Christian Barbers was presented and received.

Some independent evidence has been given about the following:

Irulas and Kurumbas are said to live in the lower ranges by grazing cattle. About 50 families of Kurumbas are engaged in training of about 25 elephants maintained by Government in Gudalur.

About 100 families mostly Badagas have leases from the Forest department for raising forest crops like Eucalyptus along with their own cultivation. The leases are renewed every year and where the forest trees grow up, they are given other plots and so no pattas could be given for those sites.

The Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies also spoke about a land colonisation Society for domestic servants and another for Harijans and Irulas. Persons who worked as butlers during the British regime and very poor Harijans were allotted 5 acres of land each and some amount granted as loan and portion as subsidy. Out of 35, 25 have abandoned the lands, though fertile, and have left. Representation was received from another set of house-hold servants now working in Tamilagam. They wanted assignment of a land in the heart of the town. The success of the colonisation scheme depends upon the contribution of personal manual labour and it is doubtful whether it can be given by the house-hold servants.

There is an Indo-German Project functioning from 1967 mainly to improve the cultivation. They have taken on hand the eradication of the golden nematode disease in potatoes which is cultivated in about 25,000 acres. It is stated that 'Dasanit' pesticide has to be imported from Spain.

### Suggestions for development and other reliefs.

On the educational side, there are 44 High Schools, of which 9 are for girls. Provision for 2 or 3 girls' hostels and expansion of the hostel for boys at college level at Ooty are very necessary. One more training school for girls will benefit the local communities.

On the economic side, relief against levy of 100% duty on import of 'Dasanit' for eradicating golden nematode disease in potatoes can be given by at least reducing it by 50% which will be very beneficial to the cultivators.

Facilities for import of good seeds resistant to the disease, free of import duty, has to be given.

To prevent soil erosion due to denudation, bench terracing has been done on a wide scale by Government. By the turning of the soil, the fertility of the soil has to be reconstituted by proper manuring and it takes some years. One of the objects of the scheme is to prevent silting in the project areas. Considering the enormous cost of the projects, it is urged that a few lakhs spent for terracing can be waived by Government. But as the land owners are also benefited, a portion of the cost only may be recovered from them in easy instalments.

Eucalyptus oil is being extracted as a cottage industry. Lemon grass is available in large quantities in Gudalur taluk. Oil can be extracted from that.

A.U.P.A.S.I. representative has given some valuable suggestions:

(a) About 9,000 small tea-planters have got about 150 small factories. They can be linked as an autonomous unit and thus modernise the tea factories to improve the quality of tea, as in the big tea estates.

(b) A craftsmen training centre which could award diplomas for trainees to be engaged in the estates and also to start independent small workshops can be started.

(c) Special training may be given for selected educated young men in factory administration.

The representatives of Badaga community stressed upon the fact that the excise duty levied on tea worked a great hardship on the small producers, especially as the price of their tea which is of mixed quality is much lower than that from the big estates with modern factories and a big slice is taken away as excise duty. They wanted the State Government to take steps for immediate relief.

### NILGIRIS DISTRICT

#### Demographic Data

District population (projected for 1971)	..	4,86,429
Percentage to State population	..	1.2%
Density of population (1961), district	..	417 per square mil
Density of population (1961), State	..	672 for the State
Percentage of Urban population (1961), district	..	43.9 per cent
Percentage of population (1961), State	..	26.69 per cent
age 3		for the State.

Religious Composition for 1961.

Hindus	..	..	80.89%
Christians	..	..	10.72%
Muslims	..	..	8.19%
Others	..	..	0.20%
			100.00

Major Backward Classes and their size for 1971.

1. Badaga	..	1,28,202
2. Kannadiyan	..	6,776
3. Mappilla	..	2,543
4. Moundadan Chetty	..	2,814
5. Thiyya	..	3,199
6. Wynad Chetty	..	4,274

Scheduled Caste	..	92,744
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Literacy Percentage

	<u>All</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
District average	35.7	48.3	21.9
State average	31.41	44.54	18.17

THANJAVUR DISTRICT

The Commission toured the Thanjavur district for 5 days from the 27th April to 1st May, 1970, visiting Mayavaram, Thalaigayaru, Nagapattinam, Velankanni, Thiruvavur, Thanjavur, Orathanadu, Saliamangalam, Sundaraperumal Koil and Kumbakonam. In spite of extensive publicity of our touring many of the representatives appearing before the Commission had not submitted their replies to the questionnaire in the proper form and some had not even seen the questionnaire. Even those who gave oral evidence did not evince as much interest in the subject as the people in other districts from the same communities did. There have been no lack of publicity and the District Welfare Officer had contacted personally most of the community leaders. The apathy is hardly explicable except from the fact that Thanjavur being a comparatively prosperous district, the leaders of the communities had not bothered very much to acquaint themselves with the hardships of their less favoured brethren. The Commission had advised most of the witnesses to submit proper replies to the questionnaire. It is worth recording that one among the prominent castes in the district, viz., the Parkavakulam had not made either an oral or a written representation. The Commission, at the last stage, tried to contact one of the leading members of the Moopanar community, a branch of the Parkavakulam, known as Suruthiman and even this leader apart from expressing his indignation that he was not consulted personally in advance, did not choose to make a proper representation. He has very vehemently denied that his community, the Suruthiman known by their title Moopanar in this district, has nothing to do with the other two branches, viz. the Malayalam and Nathaman Castes.

Thanjavur being Tamil Nadu's most prosperous district agriculturally, presents an interesting social mosaic. Almost all the communities in Tamil Nadu (excluding Coimbatore and Salem) are represented here in some measure, but no community is in a numerically dominant position. Thanjavur has a population of 32.45 lakhs according to the 1961 Census and the present

population may well be over 35 lakhs. Being a large agricultural district with the highest proportion of canal irrigation of any comparable district in the State, it has naturally a sizable Harijan population which is estimated at about 10 lakhs. In the districts of South Arcot and North Arcot the Harijan Population is exceeded by the predominant cultivating caste namely Vanniakula Kshatrias. In fact in these and a few other districts, the Vanniars constitute the biggest single cultivating caste. The position is different in Thanjavur district. The Vanniars constitute only about half of the strength of the Harijans. But there are the other cultivating castes, namely Agamudayans, Kallans and Ambalakarans and Valayans, who between themselves form more than 5 lakhs. These five communities contribute a population matching the Harijans. This social pattern has its repercussions in the economic sphere as well, and an explanation for the agrarian problem of this district may be found in the peculiar social structure.

Though there may be small land lords from amongst the Vanniars, Agamudayans, and Kallan communities, the major landlords come from the Karkatha Vellalas (Mudaliars) Castes, the Brahmins and the Mooppanars. Numerous representations were received from all the backward communities and there is nothing in their demands which was not mentioned in the representations from other districts.

The Commission's impressions in Thanjavur district dispel the general assumption about the static nature of the caste system. At Mayavaram we had a representation from a group of people calling themselves Mooppanars which in this area would mean the Suruthiman, of the Parkavakulam. They have admitted that they were really Valayans who originally migrated from Ramanathapuram district and they adopted for social convenience the title of Mooppanar. While Valayan appears in the list of Most Backward Classes, Mooppanar is only a backward class and as their title to the Mooppanar name is questioned by the local revenue officials they failed to get the concessions available either to the Mooppanars or to the Valayans. At Mayavaram it was represented to us that the Valayans do mostly fishing, catching small games and selling fish. At Orathanadu two groups representing Ambalakarans claimed that they are the same as Valayans and Muthurajas. In fact one group claimed that the inland fishermen calling themselves Parvatharajakulam also belongs to their fold. So the distinction between Ambalakaran, Valayan, Muthuraja and inland fishermen practically becomes negligible and all of them apparently belong to the common stock of Valayans. All of them are either agricultural coolies, miscellaneous labourers and do fishing as well.

In a district with hundreds of temples, mutts, and religious endowments, it is inevitable that the Isai Vellala community should be in strong numbers. The Isai Vellala or Melakaran has been declared as a Most Backward Community for this district alone. As they are spread over several towns and villages they are not numerically dominant in any one taluk or block. While in other districts the people belonging to this community have taken to different professions, in this district alone they are sticking to their traditional profession of Nathaswaram and allied music and Bharatha Natyam teaching. Their main grievance is that the salary paid by the temples and mutts is inadequate and the Religious endowments departments should be moved to increase their emoluments and also to pay pension for superannuated temple musicians. Most of them live in houses built on temple lands and they would like these lands to be assigned to them on a permanent basis. The other request made was that they should get a fair share of the excess land from temple trusts and from land ceiling and their boys and girls should be given preference in

appointments as music teachers, in schools and music schools should be started in all districts centres. They have also requested that railway concessions for parties of musicians should be liberalised and even for journeys below 300 Kms. railway concessions should be granted. The community is trying very hard to rehabilitate itself. But educationally they have made very little progress. There are, compared to their population, only a very small number of college educated boys and girls, and in services their representations is inadequate.

The other group of castes socially and economically significant in the area are the Agamudayans, Kallans and Maravars. The number of Maravars is insignificant, but Agamudayans form about 2.30 lakhs and the Kallans about 4 lakhs. Both the Kallars and the Agamudayans claim that they originally migrated from the southern districts of Madurai and Ramanathapuram several generations ago. In fact there are groups of Piramalai Kallars in Thanjavur and the Commission met two deputations of Piramalai Kallars. The Agamudayans are definitely more forward than the Kallars and there is a certain amount of aloofness on the part of the Agamudayans. Both the Kallars and the Agamudayans are very emphatic in their demand for proportional representation in educational institutions and in services. The Piramalai Kallar representatives at Nagapattinam claimed that there are about 25,000 families belonging to this group in Thanjavur district and most of them are engaged in harbour as coolies and field labourers. Many of them are not fully employed; some of them are living in hutments and temple lands. Their special request is that a special scheme as being administered for the Piramalai Kallars in Madurai should be devised for them. The Agamudayans representatives while admitting that they may be slightly better off than the Kallars pleaded for greater facilities for them in education and housing. In a place we visited called Thalaigayaru it was represented to us that there are about 100 small villages round the places and they should be given a high school there. As they are agricultural labourers, they remain unemployed for six months and they would like subsidiary occupations devised for them. All the Agamudayan representatives whom we saw asserted that there is no connection between them and the people calling themselves Agamudayan-Udayar, Agamudayar Mudaliar in South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput districts.

The Commission received two representations from the people calling themselves Thuluva Naickers. They admitted their mother tongue is Tamil. They use the title Pillai, Chettiar and Naicker, but not Mudaliar. One representation also hinted that they are sometimes known as Thuluva Vellalas too. But they admitted that educationally they are a poor community and they have not produced any higher gazetted Officers, engineers, doctors, etc. Apparently this community has nothing to do with the Thuluva Vellalas of Madras, Chingleput, or North Arcot districts. Item No. 137 in the list of Backward Classes has an entry Thuluva Naicker and Vettalakara Naicker. Item No. 47 in the list of Most Backward Classes, Annexure E has the terms Thottia Naicker and Thuluva Naicker. It is not clear whether the Thuluva Naickers we met are covered by these terms. Their present deposition seems to imply a higher social status.

We had similarly two representations from people describing themselves as Virakodi Vellalas. Both of them admitted that their original home is near the old Pudukkottah State and they owe allegiance to a family diety by name Veerammal. They are always known as Virakodi Vellalas, and they are a branch of the Vellalas. They are cultivators, petty accountants and shop-keepers. Many of the poorer folk among them to ordinary cooly labour work including making of baskets, mats, etc. They were not at any time known as Panisaivans nor

do they perform any customary services associated with the Panisaivan community. They also admitted that very few of their people are educated and they have not moved out of the Pudukkottah and Thajavur regions at all.

At Orathanad we met representatives of three communities calling themselves as Poosari, Nambi Veduran and Kantharvakottai Kuravan. Thiru Vadivelu, representative of the Poosari community, claimed that they are neither Valluvan or Kuruvan, that their main occupation is dealing in medicinal herbs, but apparently it is a very very small caste not mentioned in our lists. It looks as if in spite of their denial they are a branch of Kuravans. The representatives of the Nambi Veduran admitted that the Poosari belongs to their sect and they are all Kuruvans appearing in the list of Scheduled Castes. The Kantharvakottai Kuruvans is of course a denotified tribe, No.33 in the list. The population of these groups is very very small and all of them complained that they have not received any of the privileges and benefits the Scheduled Castes and Denotified Tribes are entitled to. We also met representatives of the small caste, Dasari, item 18 of the Backward Classes list and item 10 of the Most Backward Classes list. Their main traditional occupation is blowing of conch in villages in return for which they get paddy from the householders. The representatives of the Odda or Donga community claimed that they have no graduates among them and even the few S.S.L.Cs. are unemployed and they emphasise that they should be recognised as Oddar and the term appearing in the Backward Classes list is only Oddan. Similar difficulties arising from spelling of word have been noticed else-where.

Another interesting community we came across is Kattunaickers. They are really doing scavenging work but do not like to be described as Thotties, which appears as Item No.45 in the list of Scheduled Castes. It does not appear that the term Thottia Naicker No.47 in the list of Most Backward Classes - Annexure-B refers to them. There is an entry in the list of Denotified Tribes for Thottia Naicks. There is no specific entry for Kattu Naickers. If the Kattu Naickers of Nagapattinam whose mother tongue is also Telugu want to claim that they are a Scheduled Tribe item No.4 in Annexure-B, the Commission advised them that they should make a proper representation to the Government.

The only new caste we came across is Achakkarai Vellalas, whose representatives met us at Thiruvavarur. They represented they are about 5000 in number and are settled around Nagapattinam and Thiruthuraiipoondi. They claimed they are socially very low and still they are treated as untouchables and live in Cheries. Their request is that they should be regarded as Scheduled Castes. They definitely are a very backward classes deserving inclusion in the list of Most Backward Classes.

The Commission met the representatives of various other backward communities, including Sengunthar Mudaliars, Pattusaliars, Devanga, Sanan, Muslims and Christians. The only community not included in the list of Backward Classes, which met us arguing their case for inclusion in the list is Sozhia Vellala. Even this community did not furnish enough facts and figures as required in the questionnaire to substantiate their case. A brief mention needs to be made about some of the points raised by some of the communities.

We had a representation from Kavara community at Nagapattinam. They mentioned that their mother tongue is Telugu and their main occupation is rearing cattle and some are engaged in farming as well. They claimed they came from Vijayanagaram about the middle of the last century and their people are distributed in small communities down to Ramanathapuram.

and Tirunelveli districts. They claimed they are not Vadugans, and they are distinct from Baliya. At Mayavaram however we met representatives of a community describing themselves as 'Kayathukkara Chetty'. (கயத்துக்கர செட்டி). They also claimed they are Kavara. They speak Telugu at home. The term 'Kayathukkara Chetty' does not appear in the Backward Classes list and their complaint is that the school and revenue authorities will not accept them as Kavara.

We met representatives of the Sanan community at Nagapattinam, and Tiruvarur. The Nagapattinam representatives claimed that they are Sanan and they do not ordinarily describe themselves as Nadars. They also claimed that 75% of their people are tree climbers and those who are not engaged in this traditional occupation, are engaged as coolies. They do not like to be compared with the prosperous Nadars of southern districts and they have no connections with the Nadar Mahajana Sangam at Madurai. According to them there are only three doctors, 2 engineers and a handful of graduates in the whole community in the district. The deputation which met us at Thiruvarur pleaded that the toddy tappers should be allowed to tap coconut trees for conversion of juice into jaggery. They claimed that their community has suffered very heavily by the enforcement of prohibition.

The deputation from Senguntha Mudaliars, which met us in this district, did not have anything special to say which was not stated by their kinsmen elsewhere. They have however pointed out that whereas according to the Ganapathia Pillai Commission's report an agricultural labourer gets Rs.3 per day a skilled weaver hardly gets Rs.2 per day. The normal wages of a husband and wife engaged in weaving amounts only to Rs.75 per month, and they pleaded that Government should fix minimum wages for a husband and wife at least at Rs.150 per month. If the community is to prosper they urged that dhoties with border below 60 counts and sarees below 80 counts and towels of 40 counts should be reserved for the handloom sector for at least a period of 10 years. Regarding the use of co-operatives they seem to prefer the industrial co-operative type. The Chairman mentioned to the representatives of this community his observation about the poor health conditions of the women and children of the weaving community and the leaders promised to undertake a sample survey in a few places to ascertain the extent and nature of occupational diseases to which their people are exposed.

Both at Nagapattinam and Thanjavur solid representations were made by the Muslims League and other Organisations of the Muslim community as a whole and further urging that among the Muslims no distinction should or could be made as 'Labbais and non-labbais'. However, one Muslim representative at Mayavaram and another at Thiruvarur mentioned the existence of social distinction between Labbais, Rowthars and Maracayars.

It is interesting to record that the few Muslim representatives, who met us in this district, -- which by the way has a large population of well-to-do Muslims -- mentioned the existence of the social distinction between Labbais, Rowthars and Maracayars. According to the Municipal Chairman of Thiruvarur, a Muslim himself, Maracayars are the coastal Muslims; Rowthars are the well-to-do merchants; and the Labbais constitute the poor Muslims, who generally attend to Muslims ceremonial rituals. But all of them freely admitted that in practice all Tamil speaking Muslims describe themselves as Labbais for the benefit of Government concessions.

As usual a number of representations were received from the Christian community and one was handed over to us on behalf of the Bishop of Thanjavur by Thiru Parisutha Nadar, M.L.A.



### Education:

Though it is commonly assured that Thanjavur is an educationally advanced district, the Commission got the impression that this reputation is ill-founded. The Chief Educational Officer admitted that educationally this is a poor district and from the point of view of girls education, much remains to be done. Pattukkottai, Aranthangi and Orathanadu areas are as backward as Ramnad district and in view of poor communication facilities, adequate number of schools have not been opened, and even if there are schools, without hostels, they will not attract enough boys and girls. Detailed suggestions for opening schools, hostels are mentioned elsewhere. The District Women's Welfare Officer, who met us at Nagapattinam described to us the activities of this department and particularly about the 105 nursery schools run by them for children from 2 to 5 years. She laid very great stress on giving proper training in good habit to children at a young age. She also laid stress on the necessity for imparting instructions to educated young women remaining at home so that they can practice some useful trade or craft.

### Economy:

Plantation of teak wood in the plains was started on an experimental basis in 1956 and according to the District Forest Officer, the teak is as good as Neelambur teak. Besides, the other cash crop is cashew here. In view of the large number of coconut and palmyrah Palms in the area some attention should be paid to develop cottage industries based on the products of these trees. According to the Officers of the co-operative department only 3% of the rural population are benefited directly by the co-operative movement and there is plenty of scope for extending co-operative activities. There is a distinct preference among the artisan communities for industrial co-operatives.

The surprising feature about this district is the absence of good communications in the backward areas and especially in the coastal belt. According to the Divisional Engineer (Highways), for about 8 months most of the villages in rural areas cannot be connected and bus routes do not serve even 50% of the villages. According to this witness, roads are very important for the improvement of the socio economic conditions and even for the prosperity of agriculture. In the absence of link roads, even manures are carried by head loads. By developing link roads cost of cultivation can be substantially reduced and incidentally the general prosperity of the district will also improve.

Even though there is a general complacency about the prosperity of rice cultivation, it should be remembered that not all the canal areas are under double crop and nobody has thought of three crops. By improving the canal system and by tapping sub-soil water in other areas, it should be possible to make double crops normally and to raise three crops on an extensive basis. We were told that a scheme is being evolved involving an outlay of Rs.12 crores. The Office of the Public Works Department who gave us information on this project, however observed with great regret that the local cultivating castes are not prepared to work as labourers. Even contractors have to bring in labour from outside districts.

It was brought to the notice of the Commission that not withstanding legislation protecting tenants' rights many landlords still behave like feudal barons. Proper receipts are not given for share of the crop received and record of leases is extremely unsatisfactory. Forced labour in some places is frequent as tenants in insecure possession are

hardly in a position to assert their right. Tenants cultivating inam lands are the worst hit. Several abuses by those administering temples lands were also mentioned to us. As the affected people are cultivators tenants belonging to the Backward Classes, the matter requires careful investigation by Government. The insecurity felt by tenant farmers about their dwelling houses and the right over the produce of their cultivation has to be removed, especially as this district is open to agrarian agitation from different directions.

As this district perhaps has the largest extent of temple and Mutt lands, how their lands are cultivated and how those in authority treat the cultivators is a subject that requires special investigation.

### THANJAVUR DISTRICT

#### Demographic Data

District population (projected for 1971)	..	3,85,720
Percentage to State population	..	9.6%
Density of population 1961 district	..	868 per square mile.
Density of population 1961 State	..	672 per square mile for the State
Percentage of Urban population (1961) district	..	20.38%
Percentage of Urban population (1961) State	..	26.69% for the State.

#### Religious Composition and Decennial Variation

		1921 Per- centage.	1931 Per- centage.	1941 Per- centage.	1951 Per- centage.	1961 Per- centage.
Hindu	..	90.51	90.03	89.70	90.29	89.60
Christians	..	3.85	3.84	3.62	3.30	3.74
Muslims	..	5.62	6.11	6.65	6.65	6.26
Others	..	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.06	0.40
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Major Backward Classes and their size (1971)

<u>Caste</u>	<u>Population for 1971</u>
1. Agamudaiyan	2,16,271
2. Ambalakkaran	1,08,579
3. Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	68,978
4. Isavellalar or Melakkarar	20,264
5. Kaikolan, Sengunthar	39,917
6. Kallar	38,661
7. Kammalan	1,12,397
8. Labbai	<b>76,474</b>
9. Mahratta Non-brahmin	9,870
10. Maruthuvan	44,751
11. Parkavakulam	71,353
12. Sourashtra	30,391
13. Vannan	29,865
14. Vanniyakula Kshatriya	4,58,967
15. Valaiyan	1,62,667
<hr/>	
Scheduled Caste	8,92,668

Literacy Percentage 1961

	<u>All</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
District average	33.55	48.67	18.65
State average	31.41	44.54	18.17

CHINGLEPUT DISTRICT

Situated, as this district is, close to Madras the Commission heard the bulk of the oral evidence from the Backward Classes of this district in Madras itself. We paid a visit to Kancheepuram on the 22nd and 23rd May 1970 and took oral evidence and also visited a number of villages on its outskirts; viz. Ayyampettai, Little Kancheepuram, Reddipatti and some areas in the suburbs of Kancheepuram.

An important feature in the social structure is the preponderance of Scheduled Castes which account for 28 per cent of the district population of about 22 lakhs (1961 Census). In no other district there is such a heavy concentration of Scheduled Castes. As agriculture is not as important in this district as it is in other districts, it is possible that the actual labour involved in cultivation which is shared by some other cultivating castes is largely done by the Scheduled Castes here. It is also possible that many of them are employed in the service occupations and in the industries that have grown up on the outskirts of the city of Madras. Among the Backward Castes, as in the neighbouring districts of South Arcot and North Arcot, the Vanniakula Kshatriya is numerically the biggest. According to the figures projected for 1961 they account for 485,853, i.e. substantially lower than the strength of the Scheduled Castes. We had the usual massive representation from the Barbers and the Washermen communities about which no special mention need be made here. The other communities from whom replies to questionnaire received were the Muthurajas, Nadars, Oddar, Sathatha Srivaishnava, Senaithalaivar, Sourashtra, Udayar, Thuluva Vellala, Vanniar, Vanniakula Kshatriya, Yadhava, Labbai and Fishermen communities.

Among the communities which are not included in the list of Backward Classes but who represented to us are the Veerasaiva Lingayats, Karuneegars, and Chozhia Vellalas.

No separate commentary is needed on the conditions of the majority of the Backward Classes in this district since their plight is perhaps somewhat better here than elsewhere. Though there are no canal irrigated areas, irrigation from big tanks is a feature of this district. Regarding the new communities, the Karuneegar's claim for consideration to be included in the list of Backward Classes appears to be untenable. They are scattered in groups of two or three families in many villages and small towns. Their literacy standard is high and they have been working as Village Karnams, Clerks in trading establishments and as teachers. It may be true that inspite of their higher literacy in Tamil and reasonable proficiency at the S.S.L.C. standard, their economic condition and their position in Government service is not above level of the other Backward Classes. Socially their position is not at all considered low. Another community, which we noticed is Vettuva Gounder. A few written representations were received, but none came forward to tender oral evidence. We met a small deputation of Seniars (speaking Telugu) primarily engaged in weaving who claimed to be the same as Kannada Saineegars in the list of Backward Classes. It is difficult to reconcile whether these Seniars (weavers) are the same of the Kannada Saineegars.

We received a written representation from the Poonamallee Uyar Thuluva Vellalas and their leaders met us at Madras as well. They claim to be a small community living in a limited number of villages in Chingleput district. Though their literacy at lower level is good they said that they have only a very few gazetted officers and no one of significance in the higher ranks of services or in public life other than Mr. N. Murugesu Mudaliar. In Kancheepuram oral evidence was tendered to us by Thiru Krishnaswami Mudaliar on behalf of the Mudaliars. He claimed that they describe themselves as Mudaliar-Vellalas in their documents and as Agamudaya Mudaliar or Thuluva Vellala in Scholarship applications and entries in Schools and Colleges. He said that he belonged to the branch known as Arcot Mudaliars. According to the information supplied to us by the gentleman, there are about 100 graduates from his branch of the Mudaliar Community in Kancheepuram and about 25 per cent of the population are middle and large land owners and nobody is doing menial or manual work.

A word should be mentioned about Sathatha Srivaishnava, whose Sangam at Chingleput and whose representatives of that area made representations. According to them their population for the whole State is about 15,000 to 20,000 and they claimed to have about 100 graduates of whom 15 are gazetted officers. This is a happy state of affairs for a community claiming to be the Most Backward.

As the district is very close to the City of Madras, it shares in the property arising out of the urban development. According to the evidence of the educational officers, there are 108 Government High Schools in Chingleput district besides the schools in the Madras City to which people from outskirts could come and there is an acute awareness amongst some of the Backward Communities of the need for education.

Demographic Data

District population (projected for 1971)	..	26,10,257
Percentage of State population	..	6.5
Density of population (1961) - District	..	696 per square mile.
Density of population (1961) - State	..	672 per square mile.
Percentage of urban population (1961) - District	..	20.75 per cent
Percentage of urban population (1961) - State	..	26.69 per cent for the State.

Religious Composition (1961)

Hindus	..	..	95.03
Christians	..	..	2.64
Muslims	..	..	2.21
Others	..	..	0.12
			<hr/> 100.00 <hr/>

Major Backward Classes and their size for 1971.

1. Kaikolan	..	..	67,885
2. Kammalan	..	..	55,056
3. Muttiriyar	..	..	77,425
4. Nadars	..	..	45,160
5. Vannan	..	..	30,673
6. Vanniyakula Kshatria	..	..	5,77,397
7. Yadhava	..	..	1,34,961
Scheduled Castes	..	..	<hr/> 7,32,918 <hr/>

Literacy Percentage (1971)

	<u>All</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
District average	27.89	40.21	15.06
State average	31.41	44.54	18.17

COIMBATORE DISTRICT.

The Commission toured Coimbatore district in two spells. The Chairman, accompanied by Thiru S. Chinnappan, visited Coimbatore on the 6th April, taking oral evidences from a number of Government Officers and representatives of several communities. Again on the 8th April, the Commission visited Mettupalayam, Karamadai and a number of villages in the neighbourhood. Oral evidence was also recorded at Karamadai.

The second tour of the district was undertaken from the 3rd to 6th June. During this tour, the Commission took oral evidences at Erode and Coimbatore. A number of villages were also visited to study the conditions of the life of the Oddar and Thorayar and other backward communities. Besides, our Research Assistant was also sent to make detailed study of several villages, inhabited by backward communities.

During our April tour of areas around Mettupalayam and Karamadai, we visited one of the most inhospitable and arid areas in the State, where, even dry cultivation is a battle between man and nature. Though from the agricultural point of view Coimbatore is a very important district, yet the general impression that for dry cultivation of commercial crops and cereals, other than paddy, this area is good, is not altogether correct. Most of the cultivated land is hilly, covered by stones and pebbles and the water table is very low, and the rainfall is scanty and undependable. Avanashi, where this area is situated, deserves to be regarded as a very backward region calling for special attention of developing dry cultivation.

The social structure of this district differs from that of the other districts in two respects. Firstly, the most important agricultural communities here, namely, the Vellala Gounders and Kammas are not in the list of Backward Classes. Both communities have a large percentage of small and big land owners and they are excellent farmers. Amongst these two groups, obviously the number of non-land-owning cultivating tenants must be low. Hence there is no need for a big class of landless farmers or farm workers. The second difference is, that there is a larger number of Telugu and Kannada speaking castes in this district than in any other. The third important cultivating caste, namely, Vokkaliga alone is in the list of Backward Classes. This also is a Kannada speaking caste, being migrants from the Kannada region, centuries ago. They are largely cultivators, more or less on a par with cultivating caste of Kallars, Maravars or the Parkavakulam in Thanjavur and in the southern districts.

We heard representations from Vokkaligas at Coimbatore, as well as at Karamadai. We also visited Jadayarpalayam, where there are about 100 houses of Vokkaligas, and ascertained that there are only about 4 or 5 who own more than 2 acres. It was also represented to us that many of the interior villages are not well connected with the bigger towns, and as a result the students find it difficult to reach schools and colleges. In the oral evidence given at Karamadai it was ascertained that Avanashi has the largest concentration of Vokkaligas, and that there are two M.L.As. from this community whose population may now be in the order of 78,000. They have not produced any large number of educated people. It was represented that even S.S.L.C. passed boys are working as farm-labourers.

The other three major Backward Communities are Oddars, Valayans and Vanniakula Kshatriya. The Oddars or Boyas are found in other districts also and there are no noticeable variations in their occupation. The Valayans pose a social problem in that many of them are without an ostensible means of livelihood. They neither take to cultivation, nor to manual labour. They have no steady occupation. The Vanniakula Kshatriyas in this district appear to be worse off than their brethren in North Arcot or Salem district.

We met a number of smaller communities like Asthanthra Golla, Andipandaram, Kurubar, Mahendra Methara and Melakkara Mudaliar, besides the usual Labbais, Christians, Barbers, Washermen, Vaniars, etc. While Asthanthra Golla and Kurubas are shepherds by traditional occupation, 'Kurubas' claim to be distinct from the 'Yadava or Idayar' class. Asthanthra Gollas represented that they are Yadavas, similar to the Gollas of Pudukkottai and desired to be treated as 'Yadavas'. Another interesting community is the Thorayar or Vettalakara Naicker. A large number of Thorayars settled in the suburbs of Coimbatore city are engaged partly as mill hands and partly in other minor occupations like tailoring etc. They are Kannada speaking people and claim to have come from the Nilgiris.

They claim kinship with the Thorayar, sub-sect of the Badagas. They are also known as Vettalakara Naickers in the rural areas. The Vettalakara Naickers are different from Thottakara Naickers. Two distinct class of fishermen are found here - one local caste being known as 'Siviar'. People of the Siviar caste go out for months together fishing in Mysore and other areas.

Muthurajas of Coimbatore describe themselves as Muthuraja Vanniakulam. They complain that the ordinary people call them Valayar but, they themselves have fought a civil suit, disclaiming description as Valayar when the Criminal Tribes Act was applied in this area. They adopted a peculiar attitude in that they should get privileges of the Most Backward Classes to which category the Valayars belong, while they should be described as Muthurajas.

We received requests from Lingayats and Vellala communities which are not in the list of Backward Classes. Bhatrajas who met us claimed that they are not different from Kshatriya Rajas. Bhatrajas claim to be sort of priestly attendants, to be found wherever there are Naidus and Reddis. Their hereditary occupation being singing of music and performing some rituals in social ceremonies of the Kammars.

The educational Officers who we met testified that many of the Backward Communities boys and girls are evincing considerable interest in education, and Vokkaliga and Sengunthar boys and girls do as well of the boys and girls of the forward communities. Many educational Officers complained about the inadequate equipments and buildings in the newer high schools and secondary schools. In view of the flow of number of rivers and streams in this district, it has a large concentration of Dhoby community in Erode and Mettupalayam areas; and, officers of the Co-operative department urged for greater facilities to be extended to them through Co-operatives. Coimbatore has a large forest area and there should be possibilities for utilising forest resources in the interest of Backward Classes living in the neighbourhood.

Note regarding the inspection of the Commission in Oddarpalayam village to study the actual living conditions of the Oddars.

There are about 220 families in all. All of them, except 3 Vettalakara Naicker families and two Vellala families, are Oddars. There are no Barbers or Washermen in that village and for these purposes, they are utilising the services of the barbers and the Washermen in Periakodiveri village. There are two Asari families too. They are mainly doing stone-cutting and earth work and sometimes they go to other manual labour. They said that their houses have been built by themselves. Mostly they are coolies, but one or two among them are contractors. They do not go to distant places for work. But they go to hill areas for stone-cutting. They will not stay for a longer period at a stretch but will return to their homes once in 8 or 10 months. Normally they do not take their wives and children along with them to work-spots in distant areas. They may get about Rs.4 to Rs.5 per day. Their ladies are not working. On an average they may get work for 10 to 15 days a month. But their ladies are working as agricultural labourers, in planting, harvesting, etc. There is no school in their village; but some boys are studying in the nearby village, Periakodiveri. About 10 boys of this village are studying in the high school and they complained they are not getting scholarships, and only the Harijans are getting scholarships. They further complained that they are experiencing difficulties in getting admissions into the high school. The contractors are also owning lands and are doing cultivation also. A contractor's son is studying in Coimbatore by staying in the hostel of the college and his daughter has studied upto 9th Standard. The Chairman remarked that they

are not so bad as elsewhere. They said they are not breeding pigs. But some of them eat pig's meat and some do not. One boy, who had studied upto S.S.L.C., told the Chairman that he got the scholarship and his father is a cooly worker.

Note regarding the inspection of the Commission to Periakodiveri Village to know the actual living conditions of the Backward Classes people.

The Commission went to the village to know the living conditions of Siviars. But when the Chairman enquired them, they said they are only 'Sembadavans' and not Siviars and that Siviars are living in Siviarkulam which is on the other bank of the river 'Cauvery'. The street in which the Commission made enquiries is called as 'Paravatharajakulam Theru'. There the people are having their own houses and about 20 houses are pucca buildings. A temple which is in the street belongs to Brahmins. They are all doing fishing in the dam in the nearby village. They are going to fishing some times to Mysore and other places for about 10 or 15 days at a stretch. There are 50 males in the entire street. About 10 persons have gone to Mysore and 10 persons have gone to Mettupalayam. They may stay for about one month and they will bring some money for their future livelihood. They may get a sum of Rs.2 to Rs.4 per day. They sell their fishes in their villages and in the nearby villages and their ladies also will sell fishes in the streets and in the market places. They are also living along with Gounders. Their grievances are that their houses are dilapidated and in worse conditions. All the castes, like Gounders, Kuruvan, Vettalaikaran Naickers, etc. are also living along with them. Their houses are built on patta lands. In the house more than 2 or 3 families are living.

#### COIMBATORE DISTRICT.

##### Demographic Data.

District population (projected for 1971)	..	42,27,765
Percentage to State population	..	10.6%
Density of population (1961) district	..	591 per squire mile
Density of population (1961) State	..	669 per squire mile.
Percentage of urban population (1961) district	..	29.01%
Percentage of urban population (1961) State	..	26.69%

##### Religious composition and decennial variation (1921-61)

		1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
		percen- tage.	percen- tage.	percen- tage.	percen- tage.	percen- tage.
Hindus	..	96.71	95.83	94.93	95.23	94.59
Christians	..	1.30	1.94	2.52	2.25	2.59
Muslims	..	1.99	2.22	2.54	2.50	2.80
Others	..	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00



Major Backward Classes & their size for 1971.

<u>Caste</u>	<u>Population for 1971</u>
1. Agamudayan .. .. .	48,530
2. Andipandaram (Jangam) .. .. .	74,537
3. Gramani, Shanani, Nadar.. .. .	1,34,011
4. Devanga .. .. .	97,591
5. Kammalan .. .. .	1,00,774
6. Kulala .. .. .	47,091
7. Kuruba, Kurumba .. .. .	59,350
8. Labbai .. .. .	34,222
9. Maruthuvar .. .. .	56,022
10. Oddar .. .. .	1,33,816
11. Vakkaliga .. .. .	88,629
12. Vannan .. .. .	49,077
13. Vanniakula Kshatriya.. .. .	1,30,096

Scheduled Castes .. .. . 6,34,749

Literacy Percentage 1961

	<u>All</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
District average ..	30.20	43.28	16.66
State average ..	31.41	44.54	18.17

SALEM DISTRICT.

The Commission toured in Salem district from 18th to 20th June 1970. Member, Mr. Jamal Hussain did not accompany the Commission. In this district, the response to the Commission was overwhelming, and we had massive representations from most of the backward communities and several representations from communities not in the list, as well. A peculiar feature of this district is the presence of a larger number of non-Tamil speaking communities, most of whom are in the list of Backward Classes. This being a pre-eminent weaving region almost all the major weaving castes, viz. Sengunthars, Devangas, Sourashtars and Salians are represented here, and besides a number of other castes including Parkavakulam, Padayachis, Jangam Nadars and even inland fishermen have taken to weaving.

The most numerous among the backward communities however, is the Vanniakula Kshatriya, which is known here as the Padayachi Gounders, the other Gounders being described as the Vellala Gounders. As only a few years ago, the district was bifurcated into Salem and Dharmapuri, the correct figures of population according to castes based on 1921 Census could not be accurately estimated. According to the information supplied by the Collector, the Vanniakula Kshatriya community is estimated to have a population of 6.23 lakhs, which is little over than 1/5th of the total population and nearly half the population of all the backward communities put together. The next numerically big community is the Kaikolars, whose population is estimated as just over a lakh, with the Devangas another weaver caste closely following with a strength of little over than 89,000. A branch of the Parkavakulam, mainly Malayaman are also in strong numbers here and they, together with the Kongu Vellalas, form the more dominant agricultural community, owning substantial land holdings. The economy of this district is controlled largely by the occupational pattern and industries of these major castes.

Besides taking evidence at Salem from many individuals and associations, we visited a number of other centres namely Veerapandi, Vennandur and Puduchatram. One heartening feature in this district is that several

M.L.As. belonging to different parties appeared before us, some giving evidence in general terms about the economy of the district and about the backward population in general, while others also gave evidence on behalf of particular backward communities. A few leaders without identifying themselves with the communities to which they belong gave general evidence of an exceedingly useful nature. Several new castes also appeared before us and some forward communities not in the list also pleaded for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes.

As usual massive representations were received from the Barber and Washermen communities. The representatives of the Barber community at Salem emphasized the difficulties they experienced on account of social discrimination. Their main grievance as in other places is homelessness and inadequate wages especially in the rural areas. It is interesting to record that according to them there are 1,300 Barber shops in Salem. and in very many cases they have to pay enormous advances to acquire shop space. They pleaded for old age pension after the age of 40 as they become crippled and disabled by that time. Another interesting suggestion which emanated from them was that a higher grade institute for hair-dressing should be set up where diplomas and degrees can be awarded in the art of hair-dressing. This they said would elevate their status.

Among the Devangas there are both Telugu and Kannada speaking sections; both of them represented to us separately. Besides these two major representations, we received another representation from a group of Devanga weavers whom claimed to be the poor genuine weavers, whereas the other two representations were on behalf of the prosperous capitalistic sections of their community. There is an under-current of rivalry between the Telugu and Kannada sections in Salem city as obviously the Kannada speakers are more affluent and more advanced economically and educationally than the other. It was mentioned that among the Kannada speakers, there are 30 scientists and doctors in the United Kingdom and America, whereas there is none from the Telugu section. Both sections admitted that the various facilities offered by the Government for Backward Classes are taken advantage of mostly by members of the Master Weaver Class and others who are engaged in trading pursuits, and the actual weaver and his children are not benefitted. They asked for a Handloom finance corporation, long term interest-free loans to weavers, setting up of a factory for manufacturing, gold and silver thread and metallic yarn. They also complained that while a scavenger in the Municipality gets Rs.120 per month, a weaver's family gets only half that much. The Devanga spokesman who claimed to represent the poorer section asked for separate industrial co-operative societies for weavers, and observed that in the existing co-operative societies though there are 800 members, steady work is available for only about 300. They urged that craft education should be imparted to their children and not general education and occupation should be found within a short period at least form 10,000 more families of weavers who are unemployed or under-employed.

There is a fairly large population of Shanans, whose representatives met us at several places. All of them claimed they are known as Shanans in this district and not as Nadars and there is no comparison between their economic condition and that of their caste men in Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram districts. They said they are either tree-climbers or coolies and considerable unemployment prevails amongst them as they have made little headway in education and they pleaded for facilities on a par with the Scheduled Castes to be extended to them.

The caste to which Salem is well-known is the Jangam. Their representatives, whom we met at Salem, represented that the majority of

their people are handloom weavers. They claimed that though they have the title of Pandaram, they should not be confused with Andipandaram. They are Telugu speaking people, whose diety is Veerabadran. Though their men folk wear lingam, they are not Lingayats. They are presumed to have come from the Andhra region centuries ago, first to Namagiri-pettai, and then to other places. Apart from a handful of well-to-do families they are generally poor. They claimed they have only 2 Doctors, one Lawyer and a Tahsildar in their community.

For the first time we secured oral evidence from spokesmen of Parkavakulam here. But even these representatives did not submit replies to our questionnaire, but had to be persuaded to tender oral evidence. In the Backward Classes list, under the category of Parkavakulam appear three main divisions of Malayamm, Nathaman, and Suruthiman. The people in Salem belong to the first two categories and call themselves mostly as Udayars. In the evidence tendered at Puduchatram it was admitted that 50% of their people own lands from 1 to 4 acres, but a very few own more than 50 acres and about 25% of the cultivators own pump sets for irrigation as most of the cultivable lands here are dry lands. There was a reluctance to give proper evidence and they were therefore advised to supply replies to the questionnaire in proper form. Our general impression is, economically they are very much better off than very many Backward Classes, and in this district they are considered to be on a par with the Kongu Vellalar or Gounders a class of well to do agriculturists. It is nevertheless true that they have not made much progress in education or in government employment. Being primarily agriculturists they have not taken to trade or industry either.

Many representations were received from the Vanniakula Kshatriya community which is known here as a Padayachi Gounder community. Their condition here is very much on a par with the condition of their castemen in the contiguous district of North Arcot. They suffer from the grievance that notwithstanding their being numerically the biggest community in the district and in the State, educationally they have not made any notable progress. As elsewhere they pleaded for proportional representations in the services and separate reservation. They emphasized that their poverty must be eradicated by massive effort and government should issue transport permits, licences and contracts to the deserving amongst them, so that their economic condition might be easily improved. A new affluent class it is argued can be created in this manner, and this class will bring prestige and prosperity to the caste people. They pleaded that the members of the community should be taken to the higher judiciary and to the higher civil services. They also asked for colleges to be opened at Mettur Dam, Athoor, Edappadi and Mechery. As large numbers of them are engaged in weaving, it would be desirable to allot power looms for them. As many of them are engaged on contract labour, they also suggested organising labour contract co-operative societies. One particular grievance which is reminiscent of what the original inhabitants, of those villages which existed where Neiveli now stands, are supposed to have suffered a few years ago is that much of the land that might be acquired by the Government for the Salem Steel Plant belongs to the members of this caste, and they pleaded that proper compensation should be given to them and that they should be given attractive alternative lands and housing sites. Another interesting observation they made was that Vellala Gounders, a forward community, describe themselves as Vannia Gounders sometimes for obtaining educational facilities as the initial for Vellala and Vanniars is common, viz. 'V' and the mistake can go unnoticed.

It is needless to describe at length the representations from artisan communities like the Kammalans, Potters Vanniars or oil mongers as these followed the general lines of their representations elsewhere.

There was nothing new in the representations from the Urdu Muslim and Catholic Christians, who were advised about the need to give replies to the questionnaire. But some observations have necessarily to be made about the new communities and the forward communities whose representatives appeared before us. Notwithstanding the numerous communities who thus tried to get themselves classified as Backward Classes, we did not receive any representation from the people who describe themselves sometimes as Agamudayans and sometimes as Thuluva Vellalas, who are reported to be insufficient number in this district.

#### New Communities:

1. Vellan Chettiar: They are Tamil speakers settled in Salem, Coimbatore and Madurai districts. They appear to have sought for inclusion in the Backward Classes list when Thiru Kamaraj was the Chief Minister. Very few of them own lands; they are mostly petty traders in shandies and generally work as coolies. They were advised to reply to the questionnaire.

2. Chozha Vellala: (Otherwise known as Kodikkal Vellala). The Chozha Vellalas are the same as Chozhia Vellalas of Tiruchirappalli - a branch of them Vegetarian Saivite Vellala Caste. Their representatives, who met us at Salem, also admitted this, and mentioned Thiru K.A.P. Viswanathan and Thiru Narayanaswamy Pillai, ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, belong to their community. They also admitted that many of them describe themselves as Thuluva Vellala as well. Their claim is of doubtful validity.

3. Nattu Vellalas: Their representatives saw us at Veerapandi and Puduchatram. They are a branch of the Kongu Vellalas community (Vellala Gounders). But they claimed that whereas the Kongu Vellalas are more prosperous they are really poor. They claimed there are hardly more than a couple of graduates and only a handful of S.S.L.Cs. It is very difficult to draw the border line between the Nattu Vellalas and Kongu Vellalas. In any case no reply to the questionnaire was submitted by them.

4. Andi: This is a community peculiar to the areas where the Vellala Gounders live. By tradition they are servants, cooks and temples attendants in Gounda areas. They are neither Pandarams nor Andipandarams. In view of their name being Andi, they tend to describe themselves as Andipandaram. They are a backward lot.

5. Nagaram Chettiars: The representatives of this community whose number about 300 in Salem claimed to be the descendants from the Vanigars of Poombugar, celebrated in Silapathikaram. Generally they work as clerks and accountants with merchants. This is similar to the group whom we met at Coimbatore.

6. Pannirandamchetty: The spokesmen of this community whom we met at Puduchatram claimed they are a small community in Salem and Madurai districts only. They speak Tamil, but they are different from the 24 Manai Telugu Chettiars, the Nagaram Chettiars and other branches of Chettiars. They are also petty traders.

7. Kongu Vellalas: Thiru P. Somasundaram, M.P. and few others who met us at Puduchatram on behalf of the Vellala Gounders of Salem district requested that they be also included in the Backward Classes list. They were advised to make a representation to the Government as they are not in the list at present.

We received some representations from communities describing themselves as Vadugans, Kavaras and Baliyas and claiming that all these

terms represent the same caste, from Kannada Sainegars who claimed to be Seniors and from Vettuva Gounders and from Yerkula. The evidence obtained from Kavara, Baliya and Vaduga group required to be examined in greater detail along with the evidence obtained from other districts as there seems to be a certain amount of ambiguity in the use of these names.

We have received exceedingly useful evidence from many of the departmental officials on some aspects of the economy of this district. The sago industry based on tapioca has made considerable progress in recent years and there are as many as 600 big and small factories employing about 20,000 people. Part of the tapioca for these factories is still imported from Kerala. The same is the case with the coir industry which is said to employ about 8000 people. Besides Sago and coir the district has a cement factory, paper mill and a sugar mill. There is a fair amount of paddy and sugarcane cultivation. As there are large tracts of dry lands with comparatively reasonable under-water level, wells with pump sets are increasing in number with Government subsidies.

Almost all communities have high hopes of prosperity with the materialisation of the Salem Steel Plant. Almost every community has represented that their members should be properly represented both in the labour force, as well as in the educated ranks of the steel plant and its auxiliaries. According to the District Khadi and Village Industries Officer, there are 22 co-operative industries and there is considerable scope for extending cottage industries.

There is a feeling that this district is comparatively ill-favoured in education. Till a few years ago there was only one College. Many of the newer colleges do not appear to be satisfactorily equipped or staffed. There is need for more High Schools for boys and girls. As this district might develop industrially very soon, perhaps an Engineering College and a Medical College could conveniently be located here.

#### SALEM DISTRICT

##### Demographic Data

District population (projected for 1971)	.. 45,20,872
Percentage to State population	.. 11.3%
Density of population 1961-district	.. 539 per square mile.
Density of population 1961-State	.. 672 for the State.
Percentage of Urban population (1961) district	.. 16.23%
Percentage of Urban population (1961) State	.. 26.69% for the State.

##### Religious Composition (1961)

	Percentage
Hindus	96.23
Muslims	2.70
Christians	0.96
Others	0.11
	<hr/> 100.00 <hr/>

Major Backward Classes and their size for 1971.

<u>Caste</u>			<u>Population for 1971.</u>
Andipandaram (Jangam)	..	..	38,555
Devanga	..	..	76,344
Grani, Shanan, Nadar	..	..	91,892
Kaikolan, Sengunthar	..	..	92,692
Kammalan	..	..	73,339
Kuruba, Kurumba	..	..	69,307
Kulala	..	..	29,792
Maruthuvar	..	..	38,570
Odan	..	..	90,757
Parkavakulam	..	..	68,998
Vaniyar	..	..	65,009
Vannan	..	..	43,610
Vanniakula Kshatriya	..	..	9,06,483
Vettuva Gounder	..	..	23,247
Yadhava	..	..	26,834
Scheduled Caste	..	..	6,58,600

Literacy Percentage 1961

	<u>All</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Salem district average	.. 19.89	29.56	10.00
State average	.. 31.41	44.54	18.17

DHARMAPURI DISTRICT.

After finishing Salem, the Commission (without Mr. Hussain) proceeded to the Dharmapuri district and took oral evidence at the following places:

1. Palayampudur (for Dharmapuri),
2. Athiamankottai,
3. Krishnagiri Reservoir Project (for Krishnagiri),
4. B. Thuringipatti and
5. Karur.

The social pattern is more or similar to that of Salem with the Vanniakula Kshatriya, as the numerically biggest, and with equally large numbers of Canarese and Telugu speaking communities as well. In addition we met representatives of some of the tribal people, Lambadies, Narikuravars and Malayalees. The representations from the major communities were massive and the general impression that we gained was that just as the district is supposed to be more underdeveloped than Salem, the various backward communities and even some of the non-Backward Communities are even more Backward than their fellowmen in Salem district. As in Salem we met here also several M.L.As belonging to different parties; and some of them gave exceedingly useful evidence on the socio-economic conditions of the district.

Though the population of this district cannot be projected accurately from the Census figures, it is roughly estimated to be around 16 lakhs, of which Vanniakula Kshatriyas constitute about 3.30 lakhs. Among the weaver communities there is a large population of

Sengunthars accounting for nearly 1.25 lakhs. The other weaving communities are not so populous though Devangas run into about 40,000. There is a wide sprinkling of the community known here as Agamudayans. According to 1921 Census in the then district of Salem, this community accounted for only 13,190 and even assuming a large majority of them are in Dharmapuri at their present population cannot be more than 15,000. There are a large number of small Telugu and Canarese speaking people as it is inevitable in a border area like this.

As this is the first district where we had more than one representation from a community describing itself as Agamudayan, (other than the Agamudayan of the Mukkulathar group). We examined their witness at some length. The deputation which met us at Thurincipadi with Thiru Natarajan (Thurinchipatti village, Arur taluk, Dharmapuri) as a leader admitted that they are known here generally as Mudaliars, but they also take the titles of Gounder, Chettiar and Pillai. He also admitted that they use the term Agamudayan in their records. Though they are sometimes referred to as Thuluva Vellala, they do not describe themselves as such in records. They have no contacts with the Mudaliars of Madras and North Arcot. They are mostly farm workers. The delegation under the leadership of Thiru Sadasivam (Harur taluk, Dharmapuri) which met us at Harur admitted that they are not Vellalas and that they are described as Thuluva Vellalas and that they have no knowledge of or contact with the Ponneri Mudaliars, Kancheepuram Mudaliars, Arcot Mudaliars etc. Regarding their economic condition, this deputation admitted that about 30 per cent of their people own about 1 to 5 acres of land and others are farm workers.

Conflicting evidences as elsewhere were tendered on behalf of the people describing themselves as Baliyas and Kavaras. The deputation of Balija Naidus under the leadership of Thiru Kuppuraju, which met us at Athiamankottai gave us a long description of the various tribal division, all of whom describe themselves as Naidus. According to this delegation, Balija is the original clan from which all the other tribes trace their origins and Chetty Balija means only the leader among the Baliyas. He even claimed that the 24 Manai Telugu Chettiars and Sadhu Chettiars are all Baliyas. In fact all Telugu speaking people with the title Naidu, and the people who describe themselves as Vadugans are all one. The deputation which met us at Harur with Thiru Seetharaman as leader on behalf of the Kavara caste admitted that they are distinct from Baliyas and that the people who sell glass bangles are also Kavaras. The proper definitions of the terms Kavara and Balija have therefore to be carefully worked out.

An interesting side-light on the Veerakodi Vellala community was shed by a spokesman at Palayampudur on 21-6-1970. Thiru Govindan, who himself is the Panchayat President, admitted that they enjoy a fair social status here and majority of the people are farm workers. He was also aware of the Panisaivan origin attributed to this community. He was not aware of the representation made to us by the Veerakodi Vellala Association at Madras to change the name to Panisaivan. But he promised to consult the elders of the community and write to the Commission.

Several representations were received from the numerically large community of Vanniakula Kshatria who are known in this district also as Padayachi Gounders. Their economic condition from all accounts is very very poor and they take to any occupation that is available. A large number of them are engaged in occupations traditionally associated with the Boyas and Oddas. Many have taken to weaving also. They represented that a girls college should be started in the district as there is no separate girls college and that a college is necessary at Harur also.

\* known only as Agamudayans though sometimes they are

The representations received from the other Backward Communities were more or less on the lines presented to us as in Salem district. But we learnt that the community known as Jangam and Veerasaiva Lingayats sometimes overlap as both have some common characteristics and sometimes use the title Ayya after their name. Some people describing themselves as Jangamars who are mat weavers (நட்சம் ஜிலயரம்) obviously belong to the Jangam, whom we met in Salem.

Besides the new communities that we noticed in Salem, we came across another community by name Kunchidiga, whose representatives met us at Athiamankottai. They speak Canarese and claim to have a population of about 15,000 in Dharmapuri district. They are farm labourers and rear cattle as well, but they are not equated with Kurubas. Their economic and social status appears to be low.

Thiru Kothandaramayya, M.L.A., Uthanapalli gave us exceedingly useful information about the various minor castes and tribes. He made a statement that the Boyas in many places perform the scavenging duties and they are not different from the community described as Valmigies.

Regarding the economy of the new district, the various district officers, whom we met, gave useful information about the prosperity that can be generated by developing forestry and forest produce, tobacco cultivation and mulberry cultivation. The economy of the district would improve substantially if crash plans are formulated for developing these three sources which are both labour-intensive as well as economically beneficial. As the district has a large forest area, many representations were received by us about the restrictions placed by the Forest Department which would require re-examination. The district has a diversified agricultural pattern with a large area under double crop paddy, and larger areas under groundnuts, oil seeds and ragi. The district is eminently suitable for growing vegetables like cabbage, carrots, and potatoes and in fact the potato cultivation in this area, which is supposed to be in the hands largely of Muslims, can be fast expanded. We were also told that Mexican wheat and American rice can also be grown. A special economic survey of this district would be very useful.



PART - III

E D U C A T I O N   S U R V E Y   R E P O R T

(i) School Education

ome.

# SURVEY REPORT ON THE PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS OF BACKWARD CLASS CHILDREN IN SCHOOL EDUCATION.

A survey was conducted on the problems and progress of children belonging to Backward Classes in school education. Following the stratified sample method, questionnaires were sent to 100 Headmasters/Headmistresses, covering all the districts in the State. The response was good and 92 replies received so far, were recorded and tabulated. The findings of the survey are given below:

Enrolment: So far as enrolment of children belonging to Backward Classes at primary and Secondary levels is concerned the position is fairly good. On an average it can be said that the strength of Backward Children in schools is not less than 45% of the total. Generally in rural areas and in schools run by local bodies and Government the percentage is high. It appears that the ratio of pupils between Forward and Backward Classes has not undergone very much change during the last five years. Most of the respondents feel that considering the size of Backward-Class population in their respective areas the present ratio is satisfactory. Only 25 of them have stated that the ratio is poor. The following are the important reasons for poor representation of Backward Class children, according to them:

1. Adequate number of schools are not located in the area to cater to the demand from Backward Classes. North Arcot and Dharmapuri districts are bad in this respect.
2. Inertia on the part of parents is another important reason. Parents do not seem to realise the importance and value of educating their children. Consequently such children are not enrolled in schools.
3. Equally important is the economic reason. Grinding poverty compels the parents to keep their children at home. Whatever little contribution such children can make by aiding their parents in work is considered better than sending them to schools.

Though enrolment of Backward Class children as a whole is satisfactory, it cannot, however, be said of each individual community. Communities like Vannan, Kulala, Fishermen, Navithan, Odda and Kurumbas have not evinced enthusiasm in children's education and fewer children from these communities are enrolled in schools.

Wastages: On the whole the percentage of wastage in school education is high. The incidence of wastage goes on increasing in higher classes. At the primary level it is not noticeable. But the state average of wastage between VI and VIII Stds. is about 27%. It is still higher, i.e. 29% between IX and XI Stds. The incidence of wastage varies from district to district. This can be seen from the following table. Dharmapuri, South Arcot and the Nilgiris are the districts in that order with very high incidence of wastage.

State average VI to VIII Standards	.. 27%
State average IX to XI Standards	.. 29%

Districts where wastage is higher than State average	VI to VIII Standards	IX to XI Standards
Dharmapuri ..	41.2	54.9
Tirunelveli ..	30.0	32.5
Nilgiris ..	39.0	40.0
Coimbatore ..	25.1	32.0
South Arcot ..	42.7	45.0

Districts where wastage is lower than State average	VI to VIII Standards	IX to XI Standards
Madurai ..	25.2	21.8
Tiruchirappalli ..	21.7	26.5
Thanjavur ..	25.2	29.2
Ramanathapuram ..	22.0	19.7
Salem ..	19.0	22.6
Madras ..	19.7	17.0
Kanyakumari ..	21.0	14.0
North Arcot ..	27.6	29.0
Chingleput ..	21.5	15.7

The survey reveals that the incidence of wastage is very high among Backward Classes. Such incidence is high in rural areas compared to towns. The following are the worst sinners in this respect; Oddas, Vannans, Potters, Marava, Yadhavan, Vanniakula Kshatriya, Badaga, Kammala and Shanana. The reasons for wastages are much the same as for poorer ratio of enrolment as already described, namely:-

1. The necessity of children earning something to supplement parent's income and

Indifference of parents.

According to the respondents if the wastages in schools are to be reduced, the real remedy lies in improving the economic conditions of the people. Educated unemployment which is widely prevalent in the State also acts as a deterrent factor. The parents particularly in rural areas feel that when educated boys and girls have to sit idle at home without employment, why should they be keen on sending their children to schools? Various suggestions have been given to check the wastage. Provision of hostel facilities, distribution of free uniforms, opening of residential schools, providing scholarships and midday meals are important among them. Some have even suggested that child labour should be statutorily prohibited. Another good suggestion is that working days in schools should be so adjusted to suit the agricultural season in the area. We have carefully examined the practical implications of all these suggestions in making our recommendations.

Performance: Generally speaking children from Backward Classes are slow learners and suffer from several handicaps which can be traced to their environmental deficiencies and absence of tradition of learning. These take time to change. But these deficiencies are only mutable. Thus handicapped, they are not able to catch up with the children from Forward Communities, even at the primary stage. Some of our respondents stress that running 'Balar Pallis' exclusively for Backward Classes children

would help them overcome the deficiency. Such Balar Pallis should be manned by specially trained teachers preferably women. They should also be paid attractive salary.

Slow Learning: It does not however mean that they are basically inferior. Most of them belong to the first generation in their families to take to education and lack the guidance and example which the mother, father and elder brothers and sisters set in the homes of educationally forward classes. Such pupils are not lacking in basic intelligence; but extra efforts should be taken to bring out the best in them. Most of the respondents strongly feel that if special coaching classes are conducted after school hours, their educational standard and performance would definitely improve. But if these special coaching classes are to be effective and purposeful, then the teachers who engage them must be paid special remuneration. The teachers at present are over worked and under paid and to expect a spirit of service from them would be futile. In addition to this the following suggestions also were made by some Headmasters to improve the academic standard of slow learners from Backward Classes:

- (a) Common community halls should be provided in schools to facilitate children from Backward Classes to sit and read after school hours. This should be supervised by specially appointed tutors.
- (b) The strength of the schools should be limited so that it is possible for teachers to bestow special attention. These measures must be undertaken atleast in rural areas at first instance.

Environmental Deficiency: Another important cause for the poor performance of Backward Class children is the environmental deficiency. Inadequate housing, over crowding, big families, the general squalor of the surroundings and malnutrition are not factors conducive to academic pursuits. Invariably almost all Headmasters confirm this. To remove the environmental deficiency they suggest provision of more hostel facilities. In towns where more hostels cannot be constructed, atleast common reading halls in school premises should be provided. Some are of the view that spread of adult education would also help in this regard. Educated parents would certainly realise the importance of their children's education and would therefore bestow more attention on their study.

Scholarships: The survey reveals that the present rate of scholarship amount both residential and non-residential is inadequate. To avoid misuse of scholarship by the recipients it is suggested that only deserving pupils as recommended by heads of institutions must be given scholarships. Besides, deterrent punishment must be given to those who falsify income and community to secure scholarships. Most of the Headmasters feel that the scholarships should be paid in kind, as books, stationery, clothing, etc. and not in cash. If the books and stationery are centrally bought and distributed by the school authorities with the scholarship amount adjusted to it, the misuse of scholarship can be avoided to a large extent.

Incentives: Almost all the Headmasters are in favour of introducing a scholarships scheme wherein the amount is not iniform but graded depending upon the proven ability of the pupils. Such a scheme, if introduced, according to them would certainly act as a deterrant on the indifferent and as an incentive to the promising pupils. To encourage better performance and give a spirit of competition to backward class pupils, it has been suggested that special prizes and incentives be given to the more promising among Backward Class students.

The respondents feel that the principle of earning while learning would give a sense of confidence and pride among the pupils. Therefore it is suggested that schemes like craft section, gardening, bee keeping, weaving, doll making, etc., should be introduced in all schools. Such schemes would enable poor pupils to work for part of their freetime and earn something. Some Headmasters while approving the idea, visualize some practical difficulties which can be overcome only by careful planning. They suggest that it is sufficient if the schools provide merely equipments and tools. The pupils can be asked to bring the raw materials and carry with them the finished products. This procedure would avoid audit difficulties. We have taken all these observations in making our recommendations.

Nutritional deficiency: Another important reason for the poor performance of Backward Class pupils is their nutritional deficiency. Many children do not get square meals at home. They come on empty stomach to the school and are therefore not inclined to concentrate on lessons. To rectify the deficiency the following suggestions have been made:

- (a) Periodical medical checkup and free treatment.
- (b) Distribution of free milk and vitamin tablets.
- (c) Distribution of free food packets with nutritive contents.
- (d) School canteens can be run with the aid of CARE selling milk and food at concessional rates.

Midday meals scheme: The survey reveals that the working of the scheme is not satisfactory. The scheme in itself is well intended, but the implementation is not properly done. Preparation and distribution of food is entrusted to teachers. Such teachers on that allowance are not able to concentrate on teaching. Therefore the Headmasters desire that the scheme be entrusted to some other agency and the teachers asked merely to supervise. The teachers are now expected to collect donations for midday meals scheme and distribution of free clothes. This takes up much of the teachers' time and at times leads to complaints of corruption. Hence the method of financing must be changed.

All these criticisms basically arise from a lack of social consciousness, and sense of dedication to a cause. To go into these factors is beyond the scope of our enquiry. If there is missionary zeal all these difficulties can be over come. But we must wait a while for these welcome developments to become feasible.

PART - III

E D U C A T I O N   S U R V E Y   R E P O R T

(ii) Collegiate Education

## SURVEY REPORT ON THE PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS OF BACKWARD CLASS STUDENTS IN COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.

With a view to assess the performance of Backward Class students in higher education and to ascertain the views of educationists on problems afflicting the Backward Class students an educational survey was undertaken. A questionnaire covering almost all aspects of higher education was designed. Following the stratified sample method, copies of questionnaire were sent to 158 Principals of Colleges and 100 of them complied without request, covering 53 Men's Colleges, 33 Women's colleges and 13 co-educational colleges.

In spite of the fact that there is a great rush for seats in Colleges, it is interesting to note that in many colleges the actual strength happens to be less than the sanctioned strength. Generally colleges situated in rural areas do not find enough demand for seats. Another important reason for seats being left vacant, according to some of the respondents is, that since Tamil medium is not popular among students seats in Tamil medium section are left vacant.

So far as the enrolment of students from Backward Classes in College education is concerned, the position is fairly satisfactory. Though the reservation of seats for Backward Classes is only 25% yet the actual percentage is said to be slightly higher, since many students though belonging to Backward Classes are able to secure admission in the open competition by their merit. It is admitted by many of the respondents that a number of students from Backward Classes are able to score higher marks and secure admission on the basis of merit, though they are reluctant to mention the names of castes to which such students belong. Many Principals are however of the view that but for the reservation of 25% of seats many backward class students would not have secured admission, into colleges. To the question as to from which communities such students come, the majority opinion is that they come from castes like Shanar, Marava, Yadava, Vokkaliga, Badaga and Vanniakula Kshatriya. This suggests that these castes are educationally very backward.

Regarding the performance of Backward Class students in studies, no positive conclusion can be arrived at from the answers recorded by the respondents, since the views expressed by the Principals are divergent. Many of them hold the view that the performance of such students are good. Equally the same number feel that nearly 50% of backward class students are poor in studies, while a few Principals condemn in an out right manner that some of the students from Backward Classes are unfit for higher education. But all those who feel that the performance of them is poor say that it is due to some mutable deficiency, which can be overcome if adequate care is taken. The most important among such deficiencies is the poor environment from which such students hail. Their parents are poor and therefore are unable to give the minimum facilities necessary for higher education. Nutritional deficiency also is attributed as an important factor. The respondents also had given some suggestions to remedy the deficiencies. So far as environmental deficiency is concerned, according to them, this could be rectified by providing more hostel accommodation. To

remove the nutritional deficiency, some suggest that Midday meals scheme can also be started for Colleges on the pattern of schools. Some suggest that tonics, Multi Vitamin Tablets, Cod-liver oil can be distributed free of cost to Backward Class students.

The consensus of opinion among the Principals is that majority of the backward class students are slow-learners. But they stress, considering the fact that such students belong to the first generation to pursue higher education and that they come from very poor circumstances, if special coaching classes are conducted in Colleges, there would be perceptible improvements in their performance. For improving the educational standard of backward class students various suggestions have been given by the Principals. Some suggest, that since most of the students fail in the University examination because of their poor standard in English, special Bridge Courses in English should be conducted in Colleges or else special tutors may be appointed for English and Science subjects to coach the slow learners. Some feel that each hostel should be equipped with a good library with number of standard text books, so that the inmates would spend their leisure hours inside the library without wasting their time. Some are inclined to believe that if talent is located and encouraged, others also would develop a tendency to emulate them. Therefore according to them bright students among backward classes must be picked out and should be given all encouragement. To encourage better performance among the backward class students the following suggestions have been given.

- (a) Special prizes may be instituted for being awarded to students who are well up in studies.
- (b) Punitive action must be taken against students who are indifferent in studies.
- (c) Periodical visits of parents to hostels and colleges would improve the performance of students.

Most of the Principals complained that the hostel accommodation available in their respective colleges are inadequate, with the result many students from backward classes are not able to secure accommodation in the hostels. If hostel accommodation is to be expanded, it involved lot of financial commitments and hence could not be undertaken without Government assistance. It is commonly complained that the scholarship amount, both residential and non-residential are inadequate and hence they recommend that the rates should be raised particularly for residential scholarships.

Regarding the mis-use of scholarships by the recipients, the Principals have given valuable information. From the views expressed by the Principals it is inferred that though mis-use is there, it is not so widespread as it is commonly complained. Some students use the scholarship money for various other purposes. To stop such misuse, the Principals suggest that the scholarship money should be disbursed to the recipients in the presence of their parents or guardians. There is also another kind of misuse resorted to by some students. Such students claim scholarships either by means of producing false community certificates or by suppressing their parent's income. This according to the Principals



is a more serious violation, which if allowed to continue would demoralise the minds of students. If State assistance is to go to eligible and deserving students, strong administrative measures must be taken to check such abuse. Among various suggestions given by the Principals in this direction the following are important.

- (a) The bonafide of the scholarship holders must be verified and in cases where scholarships have been abused by giving wrong information, both the parents and also the officers responsible for issuing false certificates must be punished.
- (b) Some ingenious students resort to the practice of giving the guardian's income in the certificate while their fathers are alive, if the guardian's income happen to be less than Rs.2,000. It should stipulated, therefore, that no guardian should be allowed to take responsibility of students when their parents are alive.
- (c) The income limit prescribed now for scholarship is so low that even the really deserving do not come under this group. Therefore they are not able to resist the temptation to suppress their income. Hence the income limit should be raised to a reasonable level.

Majority of the Principals, as many as 83 out of 100, have stated that instead of an uniform amount of scholarship being paid, a graded scheme in which the actual amount could be determined on the basis of the proven ability of the students is preferable in as much as this formula would act as a deterrent on the indifferent students and as an incentive to the promising students. The quantum of scholarships can be determined after taking into consideration (1) marks and grades scored by students in College and University examinations, (2) regularity of attendance, (3) general behaviour and (4) outstanding performance in extra curricular activities.

PART - IV

SAMPLES OF REPLIES TO QUESTIONNAIRE  
AND  
ORAL EVIDENCES GIVEN BEFORE THE COMMISSION

காஞ்சீபுரம் சலவைத் தொழிலாளர் சங்கம்

112. கந்தசாமிசா தெரு; காஞ்சி-1.

28.3.1970

மாண்புமிகு தமிழக அரசு பிற்பட்டோர் நலத் துறை அமைச்சர் என். வி. என் அவர்களுக்கும்,

மதிப்பு மிகு தமிழ்நாடு பிற்பட்டோர் நலக்குழுத்தலைவர் உயர்திரு ஐ.ந. சட்டநாதன் அவர்களுக்கும்,

அன்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு பிற்பட்டோர் நலக்குழு உறுப்பினர்கள் உயர்திரு ஈசு. சின்னப்பன், பி. ஏ., பி. எல்.

/ மு. அ. ஜமால் உசேன் பி. ஏ., பி. எல்., அவர்களுக்கும் இதயம் தனிந்த வணக்கத்துடன் காஞ்சி வாழ் சுமார் இரண்டாயிரம் சலவைத் தொழிலாளர்கள் சங்க செயலாளர் சு. எல்லப்பன் எழுதிக் கொண்ட தமிழ்நாடு பிற்பட்டோர் விடுப்படிபயல் விடை விளக்கம்.

தமிழக அரசும் பிற்பட்டோர் நலக்குழு அமைச்சரும் அதிகாரிகளும் காஞ்சிக்கு வருகை தந்ததைக் குறித்து பிற்பட்டோர் அனைத்துச் சார்பினம் இதயம் தனிந்த நன்றியையும், உற்சாகமான வரவேற்பினையும் நல்க நான் கடமைப்பட்டுள்ளேன்.

ஜனநாயகம் தோன்றி இதுநாள் வரை பிற்பட்டோருடைய நலனை பேணிக் காத்ததை போல் பேர் ஆர்வத்துடன் இன்றைய தினம் எடுத்துக் கொண்ட (பிற்பட்டோர் நலக்குழு) பெரும் ஆக்கப்பூர்வமான முயற்சி உண்மையிலேயே ஒரு ஒளி மயமான எதிர் காலம். பிற்பட்டோர் சமூகத்தினருக்கு சிட்டும் என்பதில் ஐயப் பாடு இல்லை.

பொருள்:- 1. தமிழ் நாடு பிற்பட்டோர் சமூகத்தினர் சலவைத் தொழிலாளர் சங்கமும் ஒன்று. அதற்கு அரசுப் பதிலில் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் பெயர் 'வண்ணர்'.

2. வண்ணர் சமூகம் நகரப் பகுதிகளிலும் கிராமப் பகுதிகளிலும் உள்ள மக்களுக்கு சமமாக ஒரே கட்டமாக மோத்தமாக, ஒரே அமைப்பாக வாழவில்லை.

3. கிராமப் பகுதியில் ஊருக்கு ஒரு குடியாக தொழில் நடாத்தி வருகிறார்கள்.

4. கிராமத்தில் தொழில் செய்யும் சலவைத் தொழிலாளர்கள், உழைப்பிற்குத் தகுந்த ஊதியம் கேட்டால் பலன் பெறாமல் பல சங்கடங்களுக்கு உள்ளாகிறார்கள்.

சங்கடங்கள்:- 1. சலவைத் தொழிலாளிகளென்ற நிர்ணயிக்கப்பட்டுள்ள (ஊர் பெர்து) மனையில் உள்ள வீட்டையும்) தொழிலையும் பறித்து வெறியேற்றப்படுகிறார்கள்.

2. ஊர் மக்கள் கட்டுமானத்தால் மேற்படித் தொழிலாளிக்கு சொந்தமான நிலம் இருந்தால் பயிர் செய்ய விடாமல் உழவினர்களை உதவ விடாமல் சங்கடப் படுத்துகிறார்கள்.

3. தொழிலாளிக்குத் தகுந்த பாதுகாப்பு தராத காரணத்தால் கிராமத்தில் சுயேச்சையாக நிம்மதியாக வாழ முடியாத நிலை ஏற்படுகிறது.

4. சில கிராமங்களில் வீழாக்கிலும் திருமணம் மற்ற சடங்குகளுக்கும் சலவைத் தொழிலாளிகட்கு சம்பந்தமில்லாத பல இழிவான செயல்களை செய்யும் படி பணிக்கிறார்கள். எப்படி செய்தும் குறை ஏற்பட்டால் மேற்படி தொழிலாளி கிராம மக்களால் வன்மையாகக் கண்டிக்கப்பட்டு பாதிக்கப்படுகிறார்.

எனவே மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள குறையை போக்க இக்குழு செய்ய வேண்டிய உதவிகள்:

(1) சலவைத் தொழிலாளிகட்கு (நகரில், கிராமத்தில் வாழும்) உழைப்புக்குத் தகுந்த ஊதியம் வழங்க வேண்டும்.

(2) சமுதாயத்தில் அரிசன மக்களுக்கு (தாழ்த்தப்பட்டோர் அரசாங்கம் கொடுக்கும் பாதுகாப்பைப் போல் சட்டத்தின் மூலம் சலவைத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கும் கொடுக்கப்பட வேண்டும்.

விளக்கம்:— (3) தாழ்த்தப்பட்டோருக்கு பிற சமூக மக்களால் துன்பம் நேரினில் வழக்கு மன்றத்தில் சாட்சிப் பரிசீலனை இன்றி சட்டத்தின் மூலம் துன்பம் விளைவித்தோர் மீது தகுந்த நடவடிக்கை எடுப்பது போல் சலவைத் தொழிலாளிகட்கும் சட்டத்தின் மூலம் தகுந்த பாதுகாப்பு அளிக்க வேண்டும்.

(3) கிராமப் பகுதியில் வாழும் சலவைத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு அவர்கள் குடியிருக்கும் வீட்டு மனையையும் புறம்போக்கு நிலத்தில் பயிர் செய்யும் நிலத்தையும் அரசாங்கம் அந்த தொழிலாளிகட்கே பட்டா செய்து கொடுக்கும்படி பிற்பட்டோர் நலக்குழு சிபாரிசு செய்ய வேண்டும்.

(அ) நகரப் பகுதியில் வாழும் வீடு இல்லாத ஏழை சலவைத் தொழிலாளிகட்கு சர்க்கார் புறம்போக்கு நிலத்தில் வீடு கட்டிக் கொள்ள ஆவன செய்ய வேண்டும்.

(4) நகரப் பகுதியில் வாழும் சலவைத் தொழிலாளர்கள் சுகாதார முறைப்படி பொது மக்கள் துணிகளை சலவை செய்ய தகுந்த நீர் நிலைகள் இல்லாமல் நீண்ட, நெடும் காலமாக அல்லலுற்ற அவதிப்படுகிறார்கள். குறிப்பாக காஞ்சியில் துணிகளைத் துவைக்க பல மைல் ஞ் ரங்குக்கு அப்பால் சென்ற வேதனையுடன் தொழில் நடத்தி வருகின்றனர். இது குறித்து காஞ்சி நகர மு மன்றத்திற்கு தமிழக அரசுக்கும் பல தடவை சங்கத்தில் சார்பில் மகசர் சமர்ப் பித்து இதுவரை எந்த விதமான பரிகாரமும் சிடைக்காமல் வேதனையுறுகிறார்கள். எனவே பிற்பட்டோர் நலக் குழு முதல் நடவடிக்கையாக (சிபாரிசு) தமிழக அரசுக்கு எடுத்துரைத்து காஞ்சி நகருக்கு டோபி காடு (சலவைத் துறை) கட்டித் தர பணிவுடன் சலவையாளர் சார்பாக வேண்டிக் கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன்.

மருத்துவ சலுகை:—

(5) கடினமான தொழில்களுள் சலவைத் தொழிலும் ஒன்று. கடும் வெய்யிலும், மழையிலும், குளிரிலும், சலவைத் தொழிலை சலவைத் தொழிலாளர்கள் தொழில் செய்வதினாலும் சலவைத் தொழிலுக்கு இன்றியமையாத இரகசயனப் பொருள்களான சோடா, பீஸிச் பவுடர், டிசோபால், சல்பூரிக் ஆகிட் (சந்தக அமிலம்) போன்றவைகளை சலவைத் தொழிலாளி மேற்படி தொழிலுக்கு கையாளுவதினாலும், இந்திரி பெட்டியின் மூலம் இந்திரி போருவதாலும் தொழிலாளிகட்கு கசாயம் மற்ற கொடிய வியாதிகளால் வீடிக்கப்பட்டு அகால மரணம் அடைகிறான். எனவே இக்குழு அரசாங்கத் துறையில் பணிபுரியும் அரசு ஊழியர்களுக்கு அளிக்கப்படும் மருத்துவ சலுகைகளைப் போல் சலவைத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கும் இலவச உயரிய வைத்திய சலுகைகள் செய்து தரும்படி பிற்பட்டோர் நலக் குழு அரசை ஹெதுத்த வேண்டி விரும்பி சேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன்.

கல்விச் சலுகை :-

நமது தமிழ்நாடு அரசாங்கத்தின் பிற்பட்டோர்களுக்கு அளிக்கப்படும் கல்வி சலுகை போற்றீரூரியது என்றும் அரிஜன மக்களுக்கு அளிக்கப்படும் பரிபூரண கல்விச் சலுகையை போல் எங்கள் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கும் அளிக்க வேண்டும் என்று சலவையாளர் சார்பாக வேண்டிக் கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன்.

உத்தியோக சலுகை :-

அரும்பாடு பட்டு பல இன்னல்களுக்கு இடையில் சலவையாளர் மாணவர்கள் கல்வி பயின்ற தேரியும் பல இன்றி வேதனையுறுகின்றனர். இதற்கு தலையாய காரணம் அரசாங்கம் சமூகங்களுக்கு அளிக்கும் விகிதாசார குறைவே ஆகும். உதாரணமாக பிற்பட்டோர் சமூகத்திற்கு மட்டும் 16 சதவீதம் அதிக பட்சமாக அளித்துள்ளது. ஆனால் பிற்பட்டோர் சமூகத்தில் அடங்கிய 176 வகையினருக்கு அரசு அளிக்கப்பட்டுள்ள வேலை வாய்ப்பு சத விகிதம் 25 சதவீதம் ஆகும். அருள் கூர்ந்து சலவைத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு தாழ்த்தப்பட்டோர் சமூகத்திற்கு அளிக்கப்படும் வேலை வாய்ப்பு சத விகிதம் போல் 16 சதவீதம் வேலை வாய்ப்பு விகிதாசாரம் அளித்து எங்கள் சமூகத்தை வளம் பெற செய்ய இக்குழு அரசுக்கு எடுத்துரைத்து ஆவன செய்ய வேண்டுகிறேன்.

(உண்மை நகல்)

பொது நல ஊழியர்: திரு மு. வேதாசலம், எம்.எல்.ஏ.  
10 நகர மன்ற உறுப்பினர்கள்.

(6) (அ) கல்வித் துறையில் சொற்ப முன்னேற்றம் அடைந்துள்ளார். பொருளாதாரத்துறையில் பொது சமூக அந்தஸ்து பெறவதில் முன்னேற்றமே இல்லை. முன்பு இருந்த நிலையிலேயே தாழ்வு ஏற்பட்டுள்ளது.

(ஆ) தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட சமூகத்தை (Scheduled) விட தாழ்ந்த நிலையிலுள்ள என்சன் சமூகத்தை, மேம்பட்ட நிலையிலுள்ள பல சமூகங்களுடன் பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பினர் என்றும் பிரிவில் உட்படுத்த அந்தப் பிரிவினாள் மொத்த சமூகத்தினரையும் ஒன்று போல பாவித்துவசதி செய்வது தலையாய காரியம்.

(இ) சல்வித் துறையில் மட்டும் உள்ள சிறிதளவு முன்னேற்றம் கூட பெரும் தனி நபர்கள், குடும்பங்களின் சொந்த முயற்சியின் காரணமாகவேயாகும்.

ஆ. சமூகம்

(1) (அ) பெரும்பாலும் எண்ணிக்கையில் குறைவானவர்கள்.

(ஆ) ஆதிக்க நிலையில் இல்லை.

(இ) சாதியினாள் உட்பிரிவுகள், ஒற்றமையின்மை, அறியாமை, வறமை.

(8) (அ) ஆதிக்க சாதிகள், பகுதிகள் தோறும் மாறு பட்டிருக்கும்.

சென்னை நகரில் பல சாதிகளின் ஆதிக்கமுண்டு. மற்ற மாவட்டங்களில் சில இடங்களில் வணிய குல உத்திரியர் (வட ஆற்காடு, செங்கற்பட்டு முதலியன), சில இடங்களில் முதலியார்க்கும் மற்றும் சில இடங்களில் நாடார் ஆதிக்கம் செலுத்துகின்றனர் மேலும் மூஸ்லிம்கள் ஆதிக்கம் செலுத்துகின்றனர்.

(ஆ) ஆதிக்க நிலையில் விளங்கும் சாதி, எங்கள் சாதியைவிட சமூக அந்தஸ்து உயர்ந்ததாக கருதப்படுகிறது.

இந்த ஆதிக்க நிலையிலுள்ள சாதியினர், இந்த சமூக அந்தஸ்தைப் பெரும்பாலும் பரம்பரையாக பெற்றுள்ளனர்.

(9) அரிஜனங்கள் சட்ட பூர்வமாக அவர்களுக்கு அளிக்கப்பட்ட பல வசதிகள் காரணமாக உயர் உத்தியோகங்களில் பலர் அமர்ந்து, அதன் காரணமாகவும், அரசியல் செல்வாக்கு காரணமாகவும் அவர்கள் அவ்வாறு உயர்த்தப்பட்டவர்கள் ஆது போலவே வணிய குல கூத்திரியர்களையும் முதலியார்களையும் கறவாம்.

(10) சமூகத்தில் முன்னேறிய சாதியினர் மட்டுமின்றி பின் தங்கிய சாதிகளில் முன்னு சண்டிள்ள முதலியார்கள், நாடார்கள், வணிய குல கூத்திரியர்கள் கூடி எங்கள் சாதியினரை அடக்கி ஒடுக்க முயல்கின்றனர்.

(11) நாடார்களை தவிர மற்ற ஆதிக்க சாதியினர் பெருமளவினரை படிக்க வைத்துள்ளனர். அவர்கள் பல நிலைகளில் அரசாங்க அலுவல்களில் உள்ளனர். நாடார்களில் பெரும்பாலும், படித்தும் வியாபாரத்தில் ஈடுபடுகின்றனர்.

(12) ஆதிக்க சாதியினரிடம் எங்கள் சாதியினர் பொருளாதார ரீதியில் சார்ந்த வாழ வேண்டி. அன்றாட கூலி தொழிலாளர்களாகவோ அல்லது கடன் வாங்கு பலர்களாகவோ இருக்கிறார்கள். இப்படி சார்ந்து வாழும் நிலை தொல்லைகளுக்கும் மனக்கசப்பிற்கும் இடமளித்து, சாதி சண்டைகள் விளைந்துள்ளன.

(13) ஆம். அதிகமான செலவு செய்து அதனால் கட்டப்படுகின்றனர்.

(14) ஆங்காங்கே சிறு சிறு சங்கங்கள் (சமூக சங்கங்கள் மீனவர் சுட்டுறவு சங்கங்கள்) செயல்பட்டு வருகின்றன. விழிப்புணர்ச்சிக்கு அவை உதவ வில்லை.

(15) கிடையாது.

(16) இல்லை. ஒரு சில குடும்பங்கள் மீன் பிடிப்பு பிழைப்புக்காக கால நிலையை உத்தேசித்து தமிழ் நாட்டிற்குள்ளேயே ஒரு சிராமத்திலிருந்து இன்னொரு சிராமத்திற்கு குடி பயர்வது உண்டு.

(17) மலேஜ்யா, பிரான்ஸ் (சைகோன்) பிழைப்பிற்காக சில குடும்பங்கள் மேற்படி நாடுகளில் வசிக்கின்றனர்.

இ. கல்வி

(18) சென்னை நகர்: தமிழ் எழுத படிக்க தெரிந்தவர்கள் 5%  
ஆங்கிலம்: 0.5  
சிராமம்: முறையே 1% கிடையாது.

(19) முடியவில்லை. ஜாதிக் கட்டுப்பாடு, குலதொழில் பாதிக்கப்படும் என்றும் பயன் தான் காரணங்கள்.

(20) மீன் பிடிப்பு குப்பங்கள் எல்லாவற்றிலிருந்தும் (நகரங்களைத் தவிர) பெரும்பாலும் 5 மைல்களுக்கு மேற்பட்ட தூரத்தை கடந்து தான் உயர்நிலை பள்ளிக்கு செல்ல வேண்டியுள்ளது.

(21) (அ) நகரங்களில் எங்கள் ஜாதியில் கல்வா ரிகளில் படிக்கும் ஆண்களும், பெண்களும் வெகு சிலர் (5 அல்லது 6 பேர்).

(ஆ) வசிக்கிறார்கள். ஆண்டு செலவு ஒருவருக்கு ரூ. 1,500/- ஆகும்.

(22) பெரும்பான்மையான மாணவ மாணவிகளால் ஏற்க முடிவதில்லை. ஒரு சிலரால் அதை தாங்க முடிகிறது.

(23) அவர்களுக்கு பண உதவி செய்ய தனிப்பட்ட அற நிறுவனங்கள் போன்ற அமைப்புகள் ஏதும் இல்லை.

(24) காட்டுமன்றர் குடியிலுள்ள பர்வதராஜ குல விடுதி

(25) மேற்படி விடுதி ஒன்றுக்கு மட்டும் தான் அரசு உதவுகிறது.

(26) உபகாரச் சம்பளம்: அளிக்கப்படும் சலுகை போதாமானதல்ல.

## தமிழ் நாடு மீனவர் பொது நல மன்றம்

தலைமை அலுவலகம் : 92, அம்பாட்டு தெரு, திருச்சி, இராப்பாளி,  
தென்னை 73

தலைவர் : பொ. உலகநாதன் செட்டியார்.

உபதலைவர் : மு. வேதாசலம், எம்.எல்.ஏ.,

சாரியதரிசி : கு. சந்திரன், பி.சாம். (Honours)

சட்ட ஆலோசகர் : என். செல்வராஜ், பி.ஏ., பி.எல்.

பொருளாளர் : ஏ. குப்புசாமி.

## ஆ. பொது

(1) (அ) சரையோரப் பகுதிகளை உள்ளடங்கிய வட்டங்களிலும் மாவட்டங்களிலும் பெருமளவில் இருக்கின்றனர். உட்பகுதிகளில் பல மாவட்டங்களிலும் பரவலாகவும் உள்ளனர். எங்குண்டய சாதியினரின் மக்கள் தொகை இம் மாநிலத்தில் தற்சமயம் தோராயமாக ஏழு லட்சம்.

(ஆ) சடைகள் உள்ளன.

பிரிவுகள் : பட்டினவர், மணிக்காரர், நாட்டார், பரவர், செம்படவர், பர்வதராஜ குலம், பரதவர்.

உட்பிரிவுகள் : சின்ன பட்டினவர், பெரிய பட்டினவர், சரையார் முதலியார், பரமர், பள்ளி.

(2) (அ) அதிகமான கிராமப் புறங்களில் வசிக்கின்றனர். (சட்லோரங்களில்) சென்னை, நாகப்பட்டினம், சடனர் போன்ற பெரிய நகரங்களிலும் நிறைய உள்ளனர்.

(ஆ) மீன் பிடித்தல்.

(3) கலிக்கு உழைக்கும் விவசாய தொழிலாளர்களாக பெரு சிலரேயுள்ளனர். அவர்களது ஆண்டு வருமானம் சுமார் ரூ.200/- முதல் ரூ.450/-

(4) (அ) மீனவரித்தகம் (சில்லரை வியாபாரிகள்) ஒரு குடும்பத்திற்கு சராசரி ஒரு நாளுக்கு ரூ.2/- (இரண்டு) சிடைக்கும்.

(ஆ) சிறு வியாபாரத்தில்-ஆண்டு கலி, வியாபாரம் முதலியன.

(5) செல்வம் : --

வரித்தகம் : --

தொழில்-ஊழை : --

தர்ம-சைன்கரியம் : --

(27) குடும்பத்தில் பொருளாதார நிலை, சரியில்லாத காரணத்தாலும் மற்றும் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட சமூகத்தைப் போலன்றி, ஏனைய பிற்பட்ட வகுப்புகளிடம் எவ்வித சமூகத்தையும் ஒன்றுசேர்த்து வைத்திருப்பதால் கல்வரிக்குடும்பம் தொழில் நடப்பர் பரிசுகளுக்கும் முன்னேறியுள்ள சாதியைச் சேரும் போதும் அளவுக்கு எவ்வித சாதி பெண்களும் பெண்களும் போசனில்லை. பெற்றோர்களுக்கு கல்வியில்லாததால் அதன் ஒருமை தெரிவித்தல்லை. எவ்வித சமூகத்திலுள்ள மற்ற சாதியினர் ஊக்கமளிக்காததும் முக்கிய காரணம்.



இதை சீர் செய்ய மேற்படி சல்லா ரிகளிலும், தனியாக எங்கள் சமூகத்துக்கென இடங்கள் ஒதுக்கி, மதிப்பெண் குறைவாக இருப்பதும் அடிமதிக்கு வேண்டும். உட்கார சம்பளங்களும், பராமரிப்புக்கான பண உதவியும் இன்றும் அதிசமாங்கலும் சூப முறையிலும் தர சட்டத்தின் மூலமாக வழி வகுக்க வேண்டும்.

(28) (அ) அவர்களுக்கு முறையான ஊட்ட உணவு அளிப்பதற்கான நேரிடையான சலபமானதுமான வழி வகைகளை அமுலாக்க வேண்டும். (உகாரணமாக எங்கள் சாதியினருக்கு நிலம் வழங்கி சத்துணவு உற்பத்திக்கு ஆலோசனையும் உதவியும் அளிக்க வேண்டும்.

(ஆ) மற்ற சாதிப் கையன்களோடும், பெரியோர்களோடும் இவர்கள் உறவாடுவது என்பது மற்ற சாதியினர் எங்களை தாழ்வாக கருதி சேர்க்காமல் ஒதுக்கும் காரணத்தால் நடைமுறை சாத்தியமாகாது.

அதற்கு பதில், தற்போது தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பினருக்கு உள்ளது போல் ( I.A.S. Coaching Centre ) எங்கள் சமூகத்தினருக்கும் விசேஷ நிலையங்கள் மூலம் உதவ முயற்சிக்கலாம்.

(இ) அரசாங்கத்தின் அலுவலிய தலைமீடில்லாத, மேற்பார்வை யுடன் ஏற்படுத்துவது நல்லது.

எங்கள் சாதி பிரமுகர்கள் இத்தகைய அமைப்புகளில் தீவிரமாக பங்கெடுத்துக் கொள்வர்; ஆனால் செவிலி ஒரு பகுதியை ஏற்ப தென்பது முடியாததாகும்.

(29) (அ) மேம்பாடு அடைந்த பள்ளிகளில் படிக்கும் மாணவர்களுடன் சம நிலையில் போட்டியிடும் ஊனம்; நாட்டுப்புற மாணவர்களுக்கு தேர்வுகளில் கீழ் தரப்பட்டுள்ள அடிப்படைகளில் சங்கை தரலாம்.

(1) பெற்றோரின் சலிவி தரம்.

(2) குடும்பத்தின் பொருளாதார நிலை.

(3) ஆமாம்.

(30) நான் நிலைய, பரிசோதனை நிலைய வசதிகளை போதிய அளவு முறையில் அளிக்க வேண்டும். சீரிய பயிற்சி அளிக்க தீவிர முயற்சி வேண்டும். ஆசிரியர் மாணவர் விகிதாசாரம் ஏறத்தாழ 1.25 அளவில் இருக்க வேண்டும்.

(31) பின்பட்டர்கள் என்று எங்களை சொல்வது சமூகத்தில் இழிவு, படச் செய்ய உதவிகிறதேயன்றி உண்மையில் ஆரம்ப கால சங்கைகளைப்பெற்று முன்னேற உதவியதில்லை. ஆகவே "எக்ஸலன்சிஸம்" "பிரபட்டவர்" என்ற சொல்லிக் கொண்டு அதனால் சிதைக்கும் சங்கைகளைப் பெறுவது "நல்லதல்ல" என்பதை அவர்கள் உணர வேண்டிய சூழ்நிலை சிதையாது.

ஈ. பணியும் வேலை வாய்ப்பும்

(32) எங்கள் சாதியினரின் எண்ணிக்கைக்கு ஏற்ப அரசாங்க பணியில் வேலை வசதி சிடைக்கவில்லை.

தகுதி வாய்ந்தவர்கள் போதுமான அளவு இல்லையென்பது அதற்கு காரணமாகக் கொள்ள முடியாது. குறைந்த-எண்ணிக்கையிலுள்ள தகுதி வாய்ந்த நபர்களுக்கே, அரசாங்க பணியில் (எங்கள் தொழிலுக்கான மீன் இலாகாலேயே) சரியான முறையில் வேலை வாய்ப்பு சிடைப்பதில்லை. மேல் மட்ட வேலைகளிலும் வேலை நியமனக்குழு (சர்வீஸ் கமிஷன் போன்ற அமைப்புகள்) க்களிலும் மேட்டுக் குடியிலிருந்தும், முன்னேறிய சாதியினருமே பெரும்பாலும் இருப்பதாலும் அவர்களுக்கு பின் தங்கியவரும் பிறகுடைய முன்னேற்றம் பத்தி ஆர்வமோ அக்கறையோ இல்லாததுமே தலையாயக் காரணம். மற்றும் சமூகத்தில் நிறைந்தள்ள பல ஊழல்களும், சாதி ஊழல்களும் காரணமாகும்.

(33) தனியார் நிறுவனங்களிலும் வேலை வாய்ப்புக்கு மயற்சிக் கின்றனர். ஆனால் அங்கும் வேற்று சாதியினரே முதலீட்டி முதலாளியாக இருப்பதாலும் சிபாரிசு இல்லாததாலும் எங்கள் சமூகத்தினருக்கு அத்தகைய வேலை வாய்ப்புகளும் குறைவாக உள்ளன.

(34) (அ) சென்னை மாவட்டம் உள்பட, கடலோரப் பகுதிகளிலுள்ள எங்கள் சமூகத்தினருக்கும், உள்நாட்டிலுள்ள எங்கள் சாதியினருக்கும், மொத்தத் தில் 50-க்கு மேற்படாத பட்டதாரிகளும், 5-க்கும் குறைந்த எண்ணிக்கையில் பொறியியல் வல்லுநர்களும், மருத்துவ நியுணர்களும் உள்ளனர். இதர தொழில் துறை துறை பட்டதாரிகள் கிடையாத என்று சொல்லக்கூடிய அளவிற்குக் குறைந்த எண்ணிக்கையில் இருப்பர்.

(ஆ) கிடையாது.

(35) வேலை தேடும் போது இதர முன்னேறியுள்ள வகுப்பினரால் போட்டிகள் சமாளிக்க முடியாத அளவுக்கு இருப்பதாக கறுவதற்கில்லை மாறாக இதர பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பினரால் போட்டிகள் நிச்சயமாக சமாளிக்க முடியாக அளவுக்கு இருப்பதாக எங்கள் சாதி மந்தாரர்கள் உணர்ச்சிறார்கள்.

அப்படிப்பட்ட நிறுவனங்களில் சாதி அடிப்படையில் பிரிவுகள் நிலவுகின்றன. சமூக தேசிய ஒருமைப்பாட்டுக்காக இத்தகைய தோழமை மனப் பாங்கையை வளர்ப்பது அவசியம் என்று நாங்கள் கருதுகிறோம்.

(36) அரசாங்க அலுவலகங்களில் கடைநிலை ஊழியர், போர் வீரர்கள் தவிர, இதர; அரசிதழ் பதிவு பெற்ற வேலைகளில் எங்கள் சாதியை சேர்ந்தவர்களில் 5-க்கும் குறைவான நபர்களும் அரசிதழ் பதிவு பெறாத வேலைகளில் 10 முதல் 15. க்குள்ளாக எண்ணிக்கையுள்ள நபர்களும் பணியாற்றுகிறார்கள்.

(37) பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பினரைப் பொருத்தமட்டில் இப்போது உள்ள வேலை வாய்ப்பு முறை திருப்தியளிக்கும் வகையில் இல்லை.

திருப்தியளிக்கும் வகையில் அமைச்சு, மற்ற தகுதிகளெல்லாம் சமமாக இருக்கும் போது மிகவும் பின் தங்கிய வகுப்பின சேர்ந்தவர்கள் பின் தங்கிய (ஆனால் சற்று முன்னேறியுள்ள) வகுப்பினருக்கு பதிலாக கண்டிப்பாக தேர்ந்தெடுக்க சட்ட பூர்வமான ஏற்பாடுகள் செய்யலாம்.

(38) (அ) இல்லை. சர்வீஸ் சமீபக் போன்ற உயர் மட்ட குழு மட்டும் போதும். அதன் அமைப்பும் செயல்படும் விதமும் தான் மாற்றியமைப்பட வேண்டும்.

(ஆ) பல்வேறு உயர் மட்டங்களில் நேரடியாக வேலைக்கு எடுக்கும் முறை எல்லாத் துறைகளிலும் இருக்க வேண்டும். ஆல்வாறு தேர்ந்தெடுக்க சுப்படுபவர் எண்ணிக்கை மொத்தம் தேவைப்படும் அளவிற்கு இருந்தால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்படும். மற்ற பதிவு உயர்வு முலமாக நியமனம் இல்லாமல் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்படும். அவ்வாறு தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்படும் வர்க்கில் எங்கள் குடும்பத்தினர் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட வேண்டும்.

(39) ஏற்கெனவே வேலையிலுள்ள பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பினர்களுக்குப் பதவி உயர்வு விஷயத்தில் தனி சலுகையும், பதவி ஒதுக்கலும் கண்டிப்பாக வேண்டும் என்று நாங்கள் கருதுகிறோம்.

(40) உண்மை.

(41) (அ) எங்கள் சாதியினர் ஒரு சிலர் மறு செய்கின்றனர். ஆனால் தேர்வு பெறாத காரணம், எங்களுடைய பிற்பட்ட நிலை.

(ஆ) ஒருவருமில்லை.

(42) (அ) என்சின் சாதியை சேர்ந்த மிகக்குறைந்த எண்ணிக்கையினர் ஐ. ஏ. எஸ்., மத்திய அரசுத் துறைத் தேர்வுகளுக்கு முயற்சித்தள்ளனர். ஒருவருக்குக்கூடி அத்தகைய வேலை கிடைக்கவில்லை.

'ஐ. ஏ. எஸ்.' மற்றும் மத்திய அரசுத் துறை தேர்வுகளில் பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பினரில் சிலரே தேர்வு பெறுகிறார்கள் என்பது உண்மையே.

(ஆ) தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பினருக்கு ஏற்பாடு செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது.

'ஐ. ஏ. எஸ்.' (Coaching Centre) போன்ற அமைப்புகளில் உதவி பிற்பட்ட சாதியினருக்கும் கிடைக்க செய்யலாம். ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட எண்ணிக்கை பதவிகள் என்சின் சாதிக்கென ஒதுக்கலாம்.

(43) திட்டம் தர முடியும்.

(44) (அ) ஒருவரும் கிடையாது.

(ஆ) வாய்ப்புகளே கிடைப்பதில்லை. தவறி கிடைக்கும் ஓரளவு வாய்ப்புகளும் பணமுடை காரணமாக பயன்படுத்தப்படாமல் விடப்படுகின்றது. எங்கள் சாதி பிரமுகர்களோ சங்கங்களோ அவர்களுக்கு உதவ முடிவதில்லை. ஏனென்றால் சாதியினரில் அவ்வளவு பெரும் பணக்காரர்கள் கிடையாது; சாதி சங்கங்களிடம் பண வசதியும் குறைவு.

(45) பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பினர் பட்டியலினர் ஒவ்வொரு சாதியிலிருந்தும், ஒவ்வொரு துறையிலுள்ள கல்வியிலும் தொழில் துறையிலும் சிறந்து விளங்கும் சிலரை தேர்வு செய்து அவர்கள் அனைவரிலிருந்தும் மேம்பட்டு விளங்கும் நபர்களுக்கு உபகாரச் சம்பளம் ஈதலிய வசதிகளை அளித்த இந்தியாவிலும் வெளிநாடுகளிலும் உயர் பட்டங்களை அடைய உதவலாம்.

(46) பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பினர் நவீன பாதுகாக்க ஒவ்வொரு மாட்டத்திலும் ஒரு விசேஷ தொடாபு அதிகாரியை நியமிக்க வேண்டும். ஆனால் அந்த அதிகாரி பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பை சேர்ந்தவராக இருக்க வேண்டியது அவசியம். அப்போது தான் பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பினரைப் பற்றி உண்மை அக்கறையுடன் செயல்பட வாய்ப்பிருக்கும். அத்தகைய அதிகாரிகள் தவக்கத்தில் ஒவ்வொரு பிற்பட்ட சாதியை சேர்ந்த முக்கியத்தர்களுடன் தொடர்பு கொண்டு தங்கள் அலுவல் பற்றியும்; தங்கள் எப்படி பயன்படுத்திக் கொள்ளலாம் என்பது பற்றியும் அவர்களுக்கு எடுத்துரைக்க வேண்டும். பின்பு சாதி முக்கியத்தர்கள் தங்கள் சாதியினருக்கும் இருக்கும் குறைகளை அறிந்து அவற்றை நிவர்த்திக்க மேற்படி அதிகாரிகளை நாடலாம்.

## உ. பொருளாதார நிலை

(47) ஒரு சிலர் வழக்கமாக செய்து வந்த குடும்ப தொழிலிருந்து (மீள் பிடிப்பு) மாறி, வேறு வேலை செய்து வருகிறார்கள். அதற்கு காரணம், பழைய குடும்ப தொழிலில் போதிய ஊதரவிடையாகும். அதில் போதிய வருவாய் கிடைப்பதில்லை; அபிவிருத்தியும் கிடையாது. புதிதாக ஏற்பட்டு உள்ள வேலை வாய்ப்புகள் சில வேலை (பெரும்பான்மை) சிறு தொழில்கள், போன்றவையாகும்.

(48) வேலை பின்னல், பறிமுடாதல், கட்டுமரம் அமைத்தல், கயிறு பின்னல், படகு கட்டுதல், வேலைக்கு சாயம் தோய்த்தல் முதலியன. ஏற்செனவே அக்கறை காட்டியுள்ளனர்.

(49) மீள் துறையை நவீன படுத்தவும், வளர்ச்சவும் கட்டுறவு முறை பெரும் உதவியாக இருக்கிறது. இந்த துறையில் எங்கள் தலைவர்கள் அக்கறை உள்ளவர்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள்.

(50) பிராந்திய திட்டம் எது தீட்டுவதாக இருந்தாலும், மீளவருக் கொண்டு தனியான திட்டமாக இருக்க வேண்டும் அப்போது தான் அபிவிருத்தி பயன் கிடைக்கும்.

(51) பிற்பட்ட சாதியினர் அதிகமாக உள்ளதால் குறிப்பிட்ட வட்டம் அல்லது மாவட்டம் பின் தங்கியது என்று கூற முடியாது.

வட்டம் அல்லது மாவட்டம் பொருளாதார துறையிலும் தொழில் துறையிலும் முன்னேறாமல் இருப்பதால் அதன் மக்கள் பின் தங்கியுள்ளதாக எண்ணுவதில் சற்றே உண்மையுண்டு. ஆனால் எங்கள் மின் பிடிக்கும் குப்பங்கள் பொருளாதார துறையிலும், தொழில் துறையிலும், முன்னேறியுள்ள மாவட்டம் அல்லது வட்டத்தில் இருப்பினும், பின் தங்கிய நிலையிலேயே இருக்கின்றன (உதாரணம் சென்னை நகரில் பெரும் அபிவிருத்தி ஏற்பட்டிருப்பினும் அங்குள்ள எங்கள் குப்பங்கள் குறிப்பிடக்கூட மாற்றம் எதுமில்லாமல் இருக்கின்றன).

(52) தொழில் துறை நல்கடங்களும்கூட, சடங்குகளுக்காக வீணாக செலவிடும் பழக்கத்தாலும் எங்கள் சாதி மக்கள் தீவிரமாக கடன் தொல்லையால் அவதிப்படுகிறார்கள்.

தொழில் துறையில் எதிர்பாராதது இயற்கையால் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட நல்கடமேற்படும் போது அரசு உடனடி நடவடிக்கை எடுக்க வேண்டும். அதன் தொகையாகவும் போதுமான அளவு உதவியைக் கடன் தொல்லையை குறையும்.

(53) எங்கள் சாதியினருக்கு நன்மையேதும் இல்லை.

(54) விவசாயத்தில் எங்கள் சாதியினர் வெகு சிலரே ஈடுபட்டுள்ளதால் விவசாய அபிவிருத்தி காரணமாக எங்கள் சாதியினர் பயன் இடையிலில்லை.

(55) இந்த ஆய்வுகளில் அரசாங்கம் எடுத்திருக்கிற நடவடிக்கைகளால் எங்கள் சமூகத்தினருக்கு பெருமளவு பயனில்லை.

(56) உண்மையே. தெளிவான திட்டங்களை அமுல் நடத்தி, உரிய சாலத்தில் உரியவர்களுக்கு கிடைக்க வழி வகைகள் செய்ய வேண்டும்.

(57) பரிவர்த்தனை விலை (காட்டுமன்றங்களுக்கான) தவிர வேறு ஏதும் எங்கள் சாதிக்கு கிடைக்காது.

(58) ஒரு பகுதியும் கிடைக்காது. மின் வளர்ப்பு திட்டம் ஒன்று தான் செயல்படுத்தப்படுகிறது.

(59) (அ) தொண்டர் படைமை திட்ட முடியாது. எங்கள் சாதியினர் சேரவிடப்படவில்லை சேர்ந்து தொண்டாற்றுகின்றனர்.

(ஆ) முயற்சியே எடுப்பதில்லை.

"பிற்பட்ட சாதியினர்" சமூகத்தின் மட்டும் கருத்து விருத்தி

(1) ஆம். 1962-ம் ஆண்டு. சல்வி, பொருளாதார, சமூக நிலைகளில் எங்கள் சாதியினர் முன்னேற்றமே இல்லாமல் இருப்பதால்.

(2) என்ன பிற்பட்ட சாதியினரைப் பற்றி சமூக, பொருளாதாரம் சல்வி அந்தரங்கத்தில் எங்கள் சாதியினர் பிற்பட்டிருந்தால், பிற்பட்ட சாதியினரின் விட நாங்கள் மிகவும் பின் தங்கியவர்கள் என்று கூறுகிறோம்.

உதாரணமாக தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட எழுப்பினர் கூட மீளவர என்று ஒரு இவ்வாறு பொருளை காண்பது போல சமூகத்தினர்.

(3) (அ) இந்த வினாவில் அடங்கியுள்ள அத்தனை பிரிவுகளில் அடங்கியுள்ள வகைகளிலும் எந்தச் சாதி மிகவும் பிரபட்டதாகும்.

(ஆ) என்னிய ஜல சுத்தத்தியர், முஸ்லீம் முதலாளிகள் எங்கள் சாதியினரை விடக் கலீவி, பொருளாதாரம் முதவியவையில் நல்ல நிலைமையிலுள்ள மிகு பிற்பட்ட சாதியினராவார்.

சல்லி இலவசமாபிருந்தும், உடைபோன்ற பிரதீனங்களால் சல்லிக் கடத்திக்கு பிள்ளைகளை அனுப்பப்படாத நிலை இருப்பதால், சல்லியில் பிள்ளைத் தந்திய நிலை உள்ளது. மற்ற வகைகளில் எங்கள் சாதியினர் மிகவும் பிள்ளைகளைக் கொடுப்பதற்கான காரணம் அரசாங்கம் போதுமான செலவை செலுத்தவில்லை என்பது காரணம்.

(4) (1) எங்கள் சாதியினர் கல்வியறிவற்றவர் சமாயிருப்பதால் எங்கள் குழந்தைகளுக்கு விசேடமான கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டியது அவசியமாகிறது. ஆகவே, ஆசிரியர் மாணவ விசித்ததை நல்ல ஆரம்பி வைத்து திறமையான போதனைபுடன் ஆரம்பித்து கல்வி கடைச்சுள் எங்கள் குழப்பங்களில் இடமெனக் வேண்டும். கல்லூரிப் படிப்பு, தொழில் துணுக்கக் கல்வி இவைகளில் முன்னேற்றமடைய எங்கள் சாதியினருக்கென ஒவ்வொரு ஊரிலும் குறிப்பிட்ட எல்லைக்கையுள்ள பள்ளிகளை ஒதுக்க வேண்டும். அவற்றில் எங்கள் சாதியினரில் சிறந்த மாணவர்களைக் கொண்டு நிரப்ப வேண்டும். அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய பணம், புத்தகம், மற்றும் உடை போன்ற பொருள் உதவிகளும் அளிக்க வேண்டும்.

கல்லு ரிப் படிப்பு குறித்து

(அ) புகழுக வகுப்பில் தேறும் எங்கள் சாதி மாணவர்களில் 0.2 சத விதத்தினர் உயர்தரக் கல்வா ரிப் படிப்பை மேற் கொள்குகின்றனர்.

(ஆ) 0.5 சத விசீதம் கிடைப்பது. ஏற்கெனவே உள்ள சலுகைகளை எங்குக்குக் கிடைக்கும்படி செய்ய வேண்டும்.

(5) சுமார் 20 பேர் மது செய்து கொண்டார்கள். மூலக்கு இடம் கிடைத்தது. போதிய தளவு பெருததை துரிதக் எங்கள் சாதிமீனாடுக் கொழுப்பிட்ட எண்ணிக்கை இடங்கள் வைத்திய கல்வா ரி, பொறியியல் கல்வா ரி மற்றும் இதர உயர் தொழில் துணுக்கக் கல்வா ரிகளில் ஒதுக்கப்பட வேண்டும்.

(6) அரசாங்க வேலைகளில் எங்கு சாதியினரின் பிரதிநிதித்துவம் மிகக் குறைவு என்பதற்கான காரணம். படித்தவர்கள் குறைவு. அவர்களுக்கு வேலை வாய்ப்பளிப்பதில்லை.

(அ) எல்லா துறைகளிலும் எங்கள் சாதியினரின் பிரதிரிதித்துவம் குறைவு.

(ஐ) அகத நிரீர்த்ரி ஸசய்ய குறிப்பிட்ட விரிதாசார  
வேலை வாய்ப்புகள் எங்கள் சாதிரியிருக்கு  
ஒதுக்கப்பட வேண்டும்.

(7) (அ) இதர சாதியினருக்கெல்லாம் சலுகைகள் ஏற்படுத்தி அவர்கள் உயர வதி செய்துள்ளனர். எங்கள் சாதியினருக்கு அரசாங்கத்தின் அக்கறையும், சலுகைகளும் கிடைப்பதில்லை.

(ஆ) அவ்வாறு நிலைத்து முயற்சிச்சிற்றனர். தனில் எங்கள் சமூகத்தினர் தற்போதைய பின் தங்கிய நிலைமையிலிருந்து மீள் அரசு நிரம்ப உதவி கொடுக்க வேண்டும்.

(7) (இ) கிடைப்பாது.

(8) ஒரு பொது நல விரிவான திட்டம் ( Master Plan ) திட்ட கமிஷன் நியமனம் செய்ய வேண்டும். அந்த கமிஷனில் அங்கம் வகித்திரவர்கள் மீள் தொழிலில் அனுபவம் பெற்றவர்களாக இருக்க வேண்டும்.

(9.) உணவுகிறோம். ஆயிரம் எங்கள் நிலை வருந்தத்தக்க அளவு பிற்பட்டு இருப்பதால் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கால வரம்பு ஒப்புக் கொள்ளப்பட முடியாத ஒன்றாகும்.

(10) எங்கள் சாதியிலின் ஓப்பங்கள் அனைத்தும் உழிவான நிலையில் உள்ளன. அதிகாரிகளின் சலுகத்திற்கு, மகஜர், மகாநாடு, மூலமாக தெரிவித்தும் எந்த பலனும் ஏற்படவில்லை.

தமிழ்நாடு மின்சார பொதுநல மன்றம்.

(உண்மை நதலி)

## ORAL EVIDENCE

Before the Chairman and the Deputy Secretary of the Commission.

Thiru B.M. Sundaravadanam, Thiru Sundaramoorthy and Thiru C.R. Nagarajan, the representatives of Thuluva Vellala Community.

26-6-1970.

MADRAS.

Chairman: While other hundreds of communities have represented to the Commission with manifold representations from village to village, why you have not represented to us so far?

Witness: We had to convene a meeting to ascertain the views the members of our community, it has taken a lot of time. Moreover we thought that at district level they might have been able to represent better.

Chairman: In fact some people said that there is no such community.

Witness: Now we have come here. You see the vocal part of our community people are in the city. The rest of them are in the villages in North Arcot, Chingleput and in a small portion of South Arcot districts. The vast majority of them are agriculturists.

Chairman: Please tell me which is the community known as Agamudayan?

Witness: No. Thuluva Vellala is not known as Agamudayan.

Chairman: What we saw in North Arcot and South Arcot is that they are Agamudayans. Of course, they say they are not Mukkulathor Agamudayans. They are saying that they are not Vellalas or Mukkulathor Agamudayans, but a separate community. They use the title, Udayar, Mudaliar and Pillai. But all those people disclaim Thuluva Vellala caste. Even there we have to call for them; we had to fetch them to represent their community and no Association made a representation their own accord to us. They said the people nearer the Madras City and in the city call themselves as Mudaliar. That is why I would like to know whether Thuluva Vellalas are Agamudayans.

Witness: There could be no caste as "Agamudayan including Thuluva Vellala". Originally we were Thuluva Vellalas and most of the people refer to as Agamudayans.

Chairman: I would say that they are Agamudayans and not the Thuluva Vellala describing themselves as Agamudayans. Agamudayan is one branch of the Mukkulathors. That is Agamudayans by and large they are the people known as

Agamudayans, a branch of Maravas. Some people in Ramanathapuram and Thanjavur districts themselves as Agamudayans. But I must admit that there some people in some parts of North Arcot and South Arcot and Salem who call themselves as Agamudayans. But they say they are not Mukkulathor Agamudayan and they are a different caste. So I want to know what is Thuluva Vellala?

Witness : Thuluva Vellalas are all agriculturists.

Chairman: I would like to see the agriculturists among them?

Witness : In the whole of North Arcot district, they are Thuluva Vellalas.

Chairman: We have seen all the other communities, communities in lakhs and communities in thousands. You are talking as if you are doing some favour to the Commission.

Witness : You are not doing any favour to us or we are not doing any favour to you. What I think is that this community was not included in the list. So at that time the Thuluva Vellala people in the North Arcot district might have called themselves as Agamudayans and still they might have continued as Agamudayans.

Chairman: In fact the first person whom we saw is a Mudaliar in Kancheepuram. He said in our documents we write as Agamudayan and our usual title is Mudaliar and the people who are in the city of Madras as Doctors, Officers and Professors call themselves as Thuluva Vellalas. But there is some kind of inter-relations between us. He said that they are all landlords and a very few of them are agricultural labourers and farmers. He further said that they are all big and small landlords. Agriculturists mean that they are all landlords, big and small. Then he said that Dr. Sundaravadanam is the Chairman and that I can contact him. We have got one representation from a community as Uyar Thuluva Vellala. They are the only people who represented to us. They came and saw us about two months ago. Then I asked them who are Thuluva Vellalas. They said that they are the only people who are entitled to call ourselves Thuluva Vellalas and that all the other Mudaliars call themselves as Mudaliars, and that they are the genuine Thuluva Vellalas. They said that their prominent person is Murugesu Mudaliar and I sent for Mr. Murugesu Mudaliar. He said 'Don't ask me about others'. He said that you are calling yourselves as Mudaliars. Then I asked him who are all these people in Government service, colleges, etc. He said that he did not know and that they call themselves Mudaliars. He positively evaded from saying anything about this.

Witness : That is not correct, I say.



Chairman: Is Murugesu Mudaliar a Thuluva Vellala?

Witness: Yes, Sir. Dr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar is a Thuluva Vellala. All the Arcot Mudaliars are Thuluva Vellalas.

Chairman: We met a Professor in Salem. We asked him about this. He honestly said 'I do not know'. 'It is a urban caste and they call themselves as Mudaliars and I do not know about it.'

Witness: Originally this community had its root in North Arcot, i.e. Vellore. From there it migrated to other areas.

Chairman: Were they known as Thuluva Vellalas? We examined documents 25 years old. They all showed Agamudayan and Mudaliars. No Thuluva Vellala term is used.

Witness: They are all Thuluva Vellalas and they call themselves as Thuluva Vellalas.

Chairman: Why Mudaliars call themselves as Thuluva Vellalas?

Witness: Some Thuluva Vellalas call themselves as Pillai. So it depends upon the local place. They call themselves as Mudaliar, etc. Mr. Kesava Mudaliar is a Thuluva Vellala. The term 'Mudaliar' includes a lot of castes.

Chairman: Please tell me who are the branches of Mudaliar Caste?

Witness: Ponneri Mudaliars, Poonamallee Mudaliars and Arcot Mudaliars.

Chairman: Don't say in vague terms.

Witness: Put it in exact definition, I suppose, will not be possible.

Chairman: Regarding other castes no doubt arises. A barber is a barber and an Agamudayan is an Agamudayan. You are the people representing the Thuluva Vellala community. What exactly does it mean? Where is their location? Can you give me the idea of your population?

Witness: The census figures we are not having.

Chairman: In 1921 census there is no entry as Thuluva Vellala. In Madras city what will be their population?

Witness: We have got 600 members. They may be about 3000 to 4000 families, on the whole 20000 to 25000 people. They are in quite a large number in Bangalore. They are all Thuluva Vellalas. They are all migrants from Vellore and Arcot districts.

Chairman: Dr. Natesa Mudaliar and Murugesu Mudaliar belong to the same caste?

Witness: Yes Sir.

Chairman: What will be the number of doctors practising in Madras City?

Witness : There are 60 to 70 Doctors.

Chairman: My own information is there may be about 500 to 600 Doctors of your community in the City.

Witness : In the whole of the city, there will be 3000 Doctors. I mean Mudaliar will ~~constitute~~ about 1/6th of them?

Witness : May not be so.

Chairman: In every class in the Medical College in the city there are more than 100 students from Thuluva Vellala community.

Witness : No Sir. It cannot be so. Every year there may be about 30 to 40 students for one thousand. I should say even less.

Chairman: As the President of the Association you should be able to give us evidence. You should kindly give us the number of Doctors, Lawyers, Engineers, Graduates, etc. in the City of Madras. I am sure you have got information about all these things.

Witness : Very difficult to have a clear information. Roughly we can say.

Chairman: The number of Doctors practising in the City of Madras, now M.B., B.S., M.D., etc. put together, will be about 500.

Witness : 500 - too much. Even those who call themselves as Mudaliar may not be so.

Chairman: You have got a large number of people in Education Department. Almost every Headmaster is a Mudaliar.

Witness : They may not necessarily be Thuluva Vellala.

Chairman: How many lawyers are in your community?

Witness : Not so many. More Doctors than Lawyers; of course they may be in large numbers as teachers.

Chairman: Who are the people in Government Service?

Witness : Mostly as Clerks; Two I.A.S. Officers one in Madras and another outside and another man in I.P.S.

Chairman: When we put Agamudayan, the people in the Secretariat service think only about Mukkulathor Agamudayan. They are not thinking about Thuluva Vellalas as Agamudayans.

Witness : We will give you some idea of the number of those people in Government service.

Chairman: Give us the number of genuine Thuluva Vellalas. Some people say that Arcot Mudaliars are all business people.

Witness : They are all Thuluva Vellalas.

Chairman: In Vellore nobody came to see us.

Witness : They are largely spread out in villages. They are small landholders. Due to this partition and fragmentation of properties, they have migrated to cities.

Chairman: I do not think that neither the Agamudayans or Thuluva Vellalas are working as Pannaiyals. They ploughing in their own fields. But they are not working as Pannaiyals. Are they working as mill hands?

Witness : Yes Sir. They won't be working in the villages as agricultural labourers. They are working as labourers in Railway Workshops, Port Trust, etc. Now they are coming as Peons also.

Chairman: Is there anybody as head of department or in Secretariat?

Witness : Only Mr. T.V. Vasudevan is as Chairman, Madras State Housing Board, i.e. as Head of the Department. But there may be a few families which might have advanced. But if we take by and large they may not have made so much progress.

Chairman: I want some estimate of the population of the community in the State as well as in the City and who are the people who are included in the list of Thuluva Vellala; what is the relationship between Agamudayan and Thuluva Vellala; the occupational pattern in the city and the occupational pattern in the mofussil areas; the percentage of land-holding and actual tillers. You see you are all becoming largely an urban community. If the community is largely agricultural community living in poor circumstances, tell us which are the taluks where we will go and see.

Witness : We shall try to furnish the particulars.

Appendix I

## TAMIL NADU BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION

Children's Theatre Building,  
Government Estate, Madras-2.

QUESTIONNAIRE

The Tamil Nadu Backward Classes Commission was constituted by the Government of Tamil Nadu under G.O.Ms.No.842, Social Welfare Department, dated 13-11-1969. Relevant extracts from the terms of reference of the Commission are furnished at the end of this questionnaire. As the Commission has been directed to review the measure so far taken by the State Government for the welfare of the Backward Classes, to assess the improvement in their conditions and to make recommendations as to the further steps that should be taken to improve the conditions of the Backward Classes including the Most Backward Classes, the Commission is issuing this questionnaire with a view to elicit information and suggestions from those who are interested in the subject.

The questionnaire is primarily designed to elicit responses from individuals and associations representing particular castes or groups of castes. Persons who desire to speak in their individual capacity are also welcome to use this questionnaire. It is not necessary to answer every question, though such a complete response will be helpful. If statistics are given in the replies, the source of such statistics may also be mentioned, though it is realised that in many cases only rough estimates may alone be possible.

In sending the replies, in addition to the name and address, the caste or association represented may be clearly given in bold type at the top of the reply. Replies may be either in English or in Tamil. It will be appreciated if at least four copies of the replies are sent. As caste associations and the like may be State-wide or at least district-wide, it will help the work of the Commission if joint-representations are made on matters of common interest. Matters merely of local relevance as applicable to a particular block, taluk or district may be mentioned separately.

It will be helpful if those who desire to be heard in person state whether they would prefer to meet the Commission at Madras or at district headquarters or other suitable places. The tour programme of the Commission will be announced shortly and individuals and groups desiring to meet the Commission might fix up their appointments well ahead of the tour dates in their respective districts.

Replies to this questionnaire should reach the office of the Commission before the 15th of January 1970.

Copies of the questionnaire will be supplied on request by the office of the Commission.

This questionnaire is available in Tamil also.

R. KULANDAIVELU,  
Secretary.

1st December 1969.

Note: In the questionnaire the term "caste" is used in preference to "class", as the lists recognised by the State enumerate

A. GENERAL

1. (a) Is your caste concentrated in any particular taluk or district or dispersed throughout the State? Can you give an idea of the present population of your caste in the State?
- (b) Are there social sub-divisions hindering free inter-marriage in your caste? What are the different names by which your caste and sub-castes are known?
- (c) Is there a State-wide organisation for your caste? How long has it been in existence and what services has it rendered to the caste?
2. (a) Do your caste people live mostly in villages or small towns or cities?
- (b) What is the main occupation of the ordinary people in the villages, in the small towns and in the cities?
3. If the occupation is farming or agriculture, roughly what percentage of the village population of your caste in the area with which you are familiar are
  - (i) small landowners (ii) cultivating tenants and (iii) farm workers on wages? Can you give an idea of the average annual income per family of each class?
4. (a) What are the other common occupations of the people in villages and small towns? What is the average earning per individual from each of those occupations? Are women and children also engaged in them? In such case what will be the average income of an ordinary family?
- (b) If they are mainly town people, what are their normal pursuits trade, service, self-employed craftsmen, etc?
5. Are there any well-known individuals or families in the caste noted for their wealth, business or industrial enterprise, charity or public service of any description? Please give details.
6. (a) On the whole, during the last thirty years or at least since Independence, has your caste or any sub-sect or section of your caste made substantial, satisfactory or small or no advancement, educationally, economically and in general social status? Details may be furnished.
- (b) If you think the advancement is not satisfactory, what are the reasons?
- (c) If there has been advancement, is it in some way due to the concessions or privileges extended by the State, or due to their own endeavours?

B. SOCIAL

7. (a) Is your caste numerically the biggest or smallest in the particular taluk or district you are concerned with?
- (b) If numerically big, is your caste the dominant caste in any of these areas? (Dominant caste means the caste which has acquired considerable economic power, social status and political influence)
- (c) If being numerically big, dominant caste status has not been achieved, what are the reasons?
8. (a) Which is regarded as the dominant caste in the areas where your caste people live in large numbers? If there is variation of dominant castes in different regions or districts, specific details may be furnished.
- (b) Is that 'dominant caste' regarded as socially higher than yours? (Social superiority is generally measured by the test of free inter-dining. The caste claiming to be higher will not in rural areas ordinarily eat on festive occasions in the houses of those regarded as socially lower) Has this 'dominant caste' acquired this social status recently or has it been so traditionally?
9. Is there any instance within your experience or knowledge of a caste regarded as socially inferior to yours acquiring the 'dominant caste' status, say, within the last one or two generations? If there is, can you enumerate the circumstances which enabled the caste to acquire the economic power and political influence necessary for the dominant status?
10. Do people of that dominant caste try to repress your people in any way?
11. Has that 'dominant caste' produced many educated men? Do they go in for services or business or professions or politics? Give some details. Can you give reasons for their comparative superiority?
12. To what extent are people of your caste dependant on the 'dominant caste' economically either as tenants, or as dependant artisans or as daily workers or as borrowers of money? Does this dependence lead to any unpleasantness or harassment?
13. Do your people spend money excessively on ritual occasions, marriages, child birth, anniversaries, etc. thereby contracting debts or reducing their savings?  
  
Has any organised attempt been made in recent years to economise expenditure on these occasions?
14. Are there any caste or other organisations functioning actively in villages and towns to advise and help the people on social matters? Has there been any noticeable social change or reform?

15. Do the educated or economically better off people in your caste tend to leave their original homes and emigrate to towns and cities?

Do such people tend to change their caste names and assume different identities, and cut themselves off from the parent caste?

16. Taking your district or taluk, can you tell us how many such families have migrated to cities or other industrial or business or employment centres inside or outside Tamil Nadu?

17. Are there any individuals or families who have been abroad-outside India? If so, to what countries and for what purposes?

### C. EDUCATION

18. What percentage of your village people are literate in Tamil and English? Try to give fairly accurate figures for a typical village. Please give similar information for a typical town where your caste is concentrated.

19. Are cultivating tenants or farm workers or artisans able to send their boys and girls to schools upto the S.S.I.C. or P.U.C. Standard now that education is free.

20. Are there any villages in the taluk or taluks with which you are familiar which are more than 5 miles distante from a high school, and if boys and girls go to these schools, how do they go, and what is the expenditure involved for attending school? If the school had been nearer home will more students attend school.

21. (a) Where are the colleges in and near your taluk, and how many of the students travel daily more than 5 miles from their homes to colleges?

- (b) If their homes are not situated in the college town, how many are boarding in hostels or lodges attached to or near the colleges? What is the annual expenditure for such stay? If you can give information in respect of a district where there is concentration of your caste, please do so.

22. In your estimate how many of the boys and girls are able to afford this additional expenditure for boarding, lodging and transport if the schools and colleges are not in or near their home towns or villages?

23. If they cannot afford such expenditure, are there any sources of help for them, like private charities or trusts?

24. Does your caste maintain private or aided hostels where your caste students get concessional treatment or free boarding and lodging? In what places are they situated? What accommodation and other facilities are provided?
25. Does the Government or any other agency help in the construction or maintenance of such hostels?
26. Scholarships: Give full details of the scholarships and other concessions the boys and girls attending schools and colleges get. Are these adequate in number and amount?
27. If you think that as many boys and girls, compared to the number of such boys and girls in forward communities, do not go in for college and technical education, what in your opinion are the causes? What practical remedies do you suggest?
28. It is claimed that students from Backward Classes do not fare as well as students from advanced classes in schools, partly because of bad nutrition and partly because of inadequate educational environment and partly due to other handicaps mentioned in other questions.
- (a) What will you suggest to improve their nutritional deficiency?
- (b) In order to improve the environmental deficiency, i.e. absence of educated elders in the same home, would you suggest some sort of group evenings where students can mix with educated boys and elders from other communities as well? Is this feasible in villages?
- (c) Or would you suggest some sort of a Cultural Centre similar to the Y.M.C.A. or Y.M.I.A. under Government supervision for a group of backward villages or in backward towns.

Will the representatives of your castes in the locality actively assist in maintaining such centres and popularising them?

Will they be able to bear part of the expenditure in running such recreational and cultural centres?

29. (a) It is generally observed that students who have studied in convent schools and public schools and better administered schools in cities fare better in examinations as well as in tests for appointments. Students of the same intelligence level receiving education in two such different institutions may fare unequally. Would you suggest any kind of marginal weightage for students taking their examinations in the mofussil schools so that they can compete on equal terms with students from better schools?



- 29.(b) Would you consider a similar differential system of assessment or preference for students studying in the mofussil colleges and in premier colleges in the bigger cities?
30. What other facilities will you suggest for increasing the number as well as the quality of students going in for college and higher education? It must be realised that quality is as important as numbers.
31. What steps parents and elders of the community are taking to encourage self-reliance and harder work by the younger generation. Do they realise that it is not good to rely on "Backwardness" for all times?

#### D. SERVICE AND EMPLOYMENT

32. If you feel that your caste does not get a fair share, consistent with your population strength, of posts in public services what do you think are the reasons?—
- (a) Not enough qualified applicants?
- (b) The applicants do not fare well in the recruitment examinations?
- (c) Any other reasons?
33. Apart from Government services what other employments qualified applicants from your caste, generally seek?
- What impediments do they meet in securing such job opportunities?
- 34.(a) In the taluk or district with which you are familiar how many from your caste are graduates, engineers, doctors, or other professional degree holders? How many are holding Government jobs, jobs in business establishments, jobs in semi-Government establishments and in organised industries or business houses?
- (b) How many have taken advantage of employment opportunities in big commercial and industrial establishments outside the State?
35. Did they find competition with similarly qualified applicants from advanced communities too difficult to overcome? After securing employment, how do they generally fare in working alongside employees from other advanced communities, say in promotion, etc.?
- Is there a feeling of comradeship between members of all castes in such establishments?

Do you appreciate the necessity for developing comradeship amongst such employees in the interest of social and national integration.

36. Can you give a rough idea of the number of persons belonging to your caste in the various cadres of service in all the departments of Government, both gazetted and non-gazetted excluding peons and sepoys.
37. Do you consider that the present system of recruitment as far as Backward Classes are concerned is satisfactory; if not what are your suggestions for improving it? It must be remembered that such changes should not impair efficiency of service.
38. (a) Do you consider that recruitment should be made at different levels in the various departments so that Backward Class applicants may get better chances?
- (b) In which departments would you particularly like direct recruitment on different higher levels?
39. Do you consider that special concessions or reservations should be given to Backward Class employees already in service in the matter of promotion?
40. Is it a fact that applicants from Backward Communities do not get as much chance in Central Government Departments as they get in the State Government Departments?
41. (a) The big Central Government Departments in the State are Income-tax, Central Excise, Customs, Railways, Post and Telegraphs. Do candidates from Backward Castes apply for appointments to these departments or appear for the tests prescribed? If they do not fare well, what are the reasons in your opinion?
- (b) Many opportunities exist in the defence services for educated young men. How many from your caste in the district or districts you are familiar with are in the Army, Navy and Air-force as Commissioned Officers? Do young men try to get admission to the military academies? Are there many in "other ranks" of Defence forces or in merchant navy?
42. (a) There is a general feeling that very few Backward Class candidates succeed in the I.A.A. and Central Service examination. According to your information how many candidates from your caste have sat for these examinations during the last 10 years? How many secured appointments?
- (b) Would you recommend any special scheme for selection of candidates and giving them pre-examination training?
43. Very few educated men and women from the Backward Classes are able to attain high proficiency in science and technology i.e. beyond the M.B. B.S., B.E., or B.Sc. degree. Would you suggest a scheme for selecting talent from among the Backward Class students in colleges at a lower level and giving them education in better institutions of higher learning so that in the long run a larger number may qualify for M.D., Ph.D., D.Sc., etc.?

44. (a) Comparatively few graduates or post-graduates from Backward Classes go abroad for higher scientific or technological education inspite of the availability of scholarships and fellowships from various sources. According to your information, how many from your caste have gone abroad for such studies?
- (b) Is there any special reason for backwardness in this sphere? If finance is the difficulty, could it be possible for your caste organisations or leadership to arrange for financing talented graduates; supplementing scholarships or when scholarships are not available?
45. What assistance of a practical nature would you recommend, that the State should render in order to enable talented young men and women of the Backward Classes to get a fair share of representation in higher services and to secure higher degrees in science and technology both in India as well as abroad?
46. Would you recommend the appointment of Special Liaison Officers for each district to look after the betterment of Backward Classes? If such officers are appointed, what co-operation will be Backward Class people offer them to facilitate their work?

#### E. ECONOMIC

47. Has there been a substantial change in the traditional occupations of your caste in the last two or three decades? If there has been, was it due to desire for betterment, or the dying out of the old crafts and occupations? What are the newer avocations?
48. What handicrafts and small scale industries can be introduced which will benefit your people and where can these be conveniently located in the districts you are concerned with? Are your leaders interested already in such industries?
49. In what ways can the co-operative movement be extended for your advantage? Are your elders and leaders actively interested in this movement?
50. If certain areas taluks or blocks have large concentrations of backward and most backward people, can you recommend any regional measures which will lead to all round improvement. These measures must be practical and based on the resources and needs of the locality.
51. If your taluk or district is regarded as backward, do you think the reason for the backwardness is due to the population belonging largely to socially Backward Classes? Or, is the backwardness of the people due to the district or taluk being economically or industrially not advanced? In answering question 50, this should be borne in mind.

52. Is there chronic indebtedness amongst your people? If so, is it due to agrarian causes or wasteful social habits like ritual or festival expenditure?

What relief measures already exist? Do you suggest further practical measures and if so, give details.

53. Has the starting of industries, as in Neyveli, Mettur Dam Madurai and other places helped to improve the economic conditions of the neighbourhood and particularly the people of your caste there?

Have the setting up of these big industrial complexes generally helped in improving the general income level and standard of living in the neighbouring areas, not merely in the complexes? Have the caste rigidities and the social structure been affected by these industrial complexes?

54. Has the community that you represent benefitted substantially or even fractionally from the general improvement in agriculture in the State? If not, what has stood in the way? Even if a majority of your people are landless labourers or farm workers, craftsmen or artisans, they should have benefitted by the increase in wages.

55. Government have taken several measures to regulate money-lending, transfer of tenancy land holding, agricultural indebtedness, etc. To what extent have the Backward Classes been benefitted by these measures?

56. Is it a fact that the benefits that could be derived from the various welfare measures of the Government have reached only a few influential castes or individuals and they have not reached the vast masses? If so, can you suggest means to ensure that the benefits are more equitably distributed in the interest of the masses?

57. Are there any non-official agencies, religious or otherwise, working in any areas with which you are familiar for improving the lot of the Backward Classes as distinct from the Harijans, e.g. religious missions, charitable organisations, etc.

58. What areas in the State have been selected by the Government for community development in which people of the caste or class you represent are in large numbers? Has such development benefitted the Backward Classes?

59. (a) Will it be possible for your caste leaders to recruit voluntary service for effecting local improvements in economic and environmental conditions better roads, better sanitation, sinking wells for drinking water, etc.

59. (b) What have the people themselves done to uplift themselves and secure equality of status with advanced caste?

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Note: If there are any other circumstances or factors relevant to our terms of reference which you want to place before the Commission, you are welcome to describe them.

#### ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR "MOST BACKWARD" CLASSES ONLY

1. If your caste is listed as "Most Backward" please state when it was done and for what reasons?
2. What do you compare your "Backwardness" with that of the other main "Backward" (not most backward) communities in your area?
3. (a) In what respects are you "most backward" (i) in education, (ii) in economic conditions; (iii) social status, (iv) representation in services; (v) in business and other activities?
- (b) Which other "most backward" communities are better off than yours educationally, economically and otherwise in your district or in the State? Regarding education, in view of school education being free, what is the reason for continued backwardness?

Are there any special handicaps which keep your community "most backward" in other respects?

4. What measures do you suggest for ensuring improvements in (i) school education, (ii) college education and (iii) technical education?

Regarding College education:

- (a) What percentage of boys passing the Pre-University Class seek higher college education?
- (b) What percentage of the college going boys and girls in your caste in the district with which you are familiar get scholarships from the State Government and Central Government? Are these scholarships adequate in number? What other facilities do you consider necessary? Do scholarshipholders complete their education without failure in examination? Do they find any other difficulties in maintaining themselves in colleges?
5. How many boys and girls from your district applied for admission to medical colleges, engineering colleges and other higher technical institutions, say during the last two years? What proportion of applicants got admission? If you are not satisfied with the success of your applicants in securing admission, can you suggest the reasons for their comparative failure and practical remedies?

6. Why is your representation in Government services considered inadequate? If that be so, what is the reason for your poor representation?
- (a) In what departments do your candidates find it specially difficult to get entry? Are there any special reasons?
- (b) Do you have any suggestions for improving your representation generally and particularly in the departments in which your caste is inadequately represented?
7. (a) What in your opinion are the reasons for the continued backwardness of your caste in spite of the general advancement in the country since Independence?
- (b) Have the leaders of the caste taken any special measures to rouse the consciousness of the masses and to instil into them the need for sustained self-help for improving their lot?
- (c) To what extent the panchayat raj, community development projects and other measures have helped your people?

8. What practical measures other than those referred to in earlier questions would you recommend to bring about more rapid and permanent improvement in their economic and social conditions?

9. Do you appreciate that is not consistent either with the self-respect of your caste or in the larger national interest that a caste should continue to be labelled as "most backward"?

If you do, will you suggest a time limit, say ten or twenty years, for any concessions and special privileges and support you seek?

10. It has been represented that housing conditions in the villages largely populated by some Most Backward Communities are pitifully inadequate. If this is correct, can you give details of the villages or taluks where such conditions prevail?

Are such villages covered by proper motorable roads from the nearest towns or market places?

Has not the local panchayat or the concerned Government department taken adequate measures to improve the roads to these villages, provide better sanitary facilities, water supply, etc.?

Has anything been done to bring these conditions to the notice of the authorities?

11. Are there any village or caste organisations interested in these matters?

11. Taking any taluk or block with which you are familiar and in which the Most Backward Classes predominate, can you give an estimate of the expenditure that will have to be incurred on improving housing and providing better roads and other amenities? If the entire district has large areas of backwardness, can you give a scheme for the improvement of the areas?
12. Are there any special customs or prejudices or taboos prevalent among these people which keep them backward?
- What has been done to remove these customs, prejudices and taboos by the local caste organisation or by the panchayat raj or by the Government?

R. KULANDAIVELU,  
Secretary.

#### TERMS OF REFERENCE

(Extracts from G.O.Ms.No.842, Social Welfare Department, dated 13-11-1969).

1. The Tamil Nadu State Backward Classes Commission shall review the measures so far taken by the State Government for the welfare of "Backward Classes" and the betterment of their conditions and assess the effectiveness of such measures in improving the conditions of Backward Classes and in particular in matter relating to education and representation in public services of the State.
2. The Commission shall examine and assess with reference to concessions, privileges and benefits given to them by the State Government the improvements in the conditions of the "Most Backward Classes" in education and other matters.
3. The Commission may make recommendations as to the further steps that should be taken by the State Government to improve the conditions of the "Backward Classes" and "Most Backward Classes" in respect of:
  - (i) Education, including reservation of seats in professional colleges and institutions of higher learning;
  - (ii) representation in public services;
  - (iii) trade, commerce and industry;
  - (iv) rural credit, marketing and co-operation;
  - (v) housing;
  - (vi) grants; and
  - (vii) community development.
4. The Commission may make recommendations in respect of short-term and long-term measures to be taken by the State Government for raising the level of Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes.

5. The Commission may obtain such information as they may consider necessary or relevant for their purpose in such form and in such manner, as they may think appropriate, for the State Government or any Officer or authority subordinate to the State Government or any organisation or any individual as may in the opinion of the Commission be of assistance to them.
6. The Commission may visit any district or taluk in the State.
7. The Commission shall endeavour to present the report to the State Government by the 30th June 1970 and may furnish to the Government an interim report earlier on any special aspect of their work, if so desired, by the Government of Tamil Nadu or the Commission.



Appendix 2

Questionnaire No.

A SURVEY ON EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS OF PUPILS BELONGING TO  
BACKWARD CLASSES IN SCHOOL EDUCATION, TAMIL NADU,  
BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION,  
CHILDREN'S THEATRE BUILDING, MADRAS-2.

Explanatory note and instructions

OBJECT OF THE SURVEY: This questionnaire is designed to cover a factual cum opinion survey (i) to determine the relative position and progress made by the children from Backward Classes in school education, and (ii) to invite opinion from experts on certain problems confronted by their children.

COVERAGE: The survey will cover all the Chief Educational Officers and District Educational Officers in the Tamil Nadu Educational Service and Headmasters/Headmistresses of selective schools. Opinion emanating from such experts, as they are, with their ripe experiences and special knowledge in the field of school education and with their comprehensive views about our social structure will be very much valued and appreciated by the Backward Classes Commission in drawing conclusions about children from Backward Classes Communities vis-a-vis school education. Answers to the questions will be treated as strictly confidential and will be used only by the Commission. Hence the respondents are requested to feel free while answering the questions.

METHOD OF ANSWERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE: The answer is to be recorded opposite to the question concerned. The answers could be of these types.

(i) Simple 'Yes' or 'No' answers, which could be done by putting the '✓' mark in the appropriate box ☐ provided against the question.

(ii) Brief answers, for which space is provided against the question.

(iii) Lengthy answers, for which enough space is provided. If the space provided is inadequate separate sheet can be attached at the end. But care is to be taken to note down the question Nos. in such cases.

IMPORTANT:

(i) The word 'District' occurring in the Questionnaire always refer to Revenue District.

(ii) The Questionnaire contains VI parts.

(a) The Chief Educational Officers, since each has jurisdiction over an entire District, will kindly answer all the parts.

(b) The District Educational Officers, since each has jurisdiction only over a limited area, will kindly answer parts, III, IV, V and VI.

- (c) The Headmasters/Headmistress will kindly answer all parts excepting part I. They will base their answers on their respective schools. If the word 'School' is substituted for the word 'District' wherever it occurs, they can easily answer the question.

(iii) Questionnaires after completion may be sent directly to 'The Secretary, Backward Classes Commission, Children's Theatre Buildings, Madras-2' as early as possible.

### Part I

#### GENERAL

Name of the District

Designation of the Officer

Name of the Officer

#### Question No.

1. What is the total population in the district? (indicate the year for which you give figures).
2. What would be the number of children (boys and girls) in the school going ages (5 to 14) in the district. (According to Census Report children in the age group of 5 to 14 form 25% of the total population for Tamil Nadu for 1971. So approximately 25% of the number against Q.1 would come under this age group).
3. (i) How many schools are located in the district?

Grade	Number of Schools		Sanctioned strength	Actual strength
	Government Schools	Aided Schools		
Elementary				
Higher Elementary				
High School				
Training School				
Other Institutions				
Total				

- (ii) In how many schools do the actual fall short of the sanctioned strength.

- (iii) What reason would you attribute for this tendency?

Part II

## ENROLMENT OF CHILDREN FROM THE BACKWARD CLASSES

1. The Tamil Nadu Government maintains a list of Backward Classes communities and another for Most Backward Classes.
- (i) Mention the Backward Classes communities which are largely found in the district (in the order of their numerical size)
2. (i) What percentage would children from the following classes form to the total number of children enrolled in schools (for the year 1969-70) at each level.

Classes	Percentage of total enrolment		
	Elementary	Secondary	High School
Scheduled Castes and Tribes			
Most Backward Classes			
Backward Classes			
Others			
Total	100	100	100

- (ii) Can you say whether the same rates were to be noticed.

- (a) Five years before (i.e., for the year 1964-65)

Yes

☐

No

☐

- (b) If your answer is No can you indicate atleast approximately the rates then

Classes	Percentage of total enrolment		
	Elementary	Secondary	High School
Scheduled Castes and Tribes			
Most Backward Classes			
Backward Classes			
Others			
Total	100	100	100

- (c) Have you based your answers to Questions 2(i) and (ii) (a) and (b) on

Statistical evidence ☐

Observation ☐

Guess work ☐

3. Considering the size of the Backward and Most Backward Class communities in the total population of your district, would you say that the present rate as indicated by you in (2) is

Good ☐

Satisfactory ☐

Poor ☐

4. If your answer is poor, what in your consideration among the following are the causes?

- (i) Adequate number of schools are not located in the district to cater to the demand.

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (ii) Inertia on the part of parents; parents do not realise the importance of educating their children.

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (iii) Grinding poverty of the parents. The parents prefer to keep the children at home to aid them in work.

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (iv) School authorities do not take a personal interest in encouraging and in giving preferential treatment to pupils belonging to Backward Classes.

- (a) in Government Schools

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (b) in Private/Aided Schools

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (v) Any other reasons which you would like to add (the answer can be elaborate).

- I (a) Even among the Backward Classes do you think that some communities take fullest advantage of school enrolment compared to other Classes.

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (b) If your answer is Yes, mention the names of such communities.

- II (a) Among the Backward Classes do you think some communities badly neglect school enrolment, in the sense that only very few children from such communities attended the school.

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (b) If your answer is Yes, mention

Part III

## WASTAGES IN SCHOOLS

1. (i) What would be the percentage of wastage among pupils:

At primary level  
I to V Standard  
(1964-65 to 1969-70)

At secondary level  
VI to VIII Standard  
(1967-68 to 1969-70)

At High School level  
IX to XI Standard  
(1967-68 to 1969-70)

(If for example in the year 1964-65 100 children are enrolled in I Standard and 60 of them reach the V Standard (in the year 1969-70), the percentage of wastage at primary level is 40).

- (ii) (a) Do you think, the incidence of wastage is high among pupils belonging to Backward Classes.

Yes

☐

No

☐

- (b) If your answer is Yes, which castes are the worst sinners in the District?

- (c) What reasons in your consideration account for such wastages in particular castes.

- (iii) As an Educationalist with special knowledge and considerable experience what measure would you suggest to check such wastages (the answer can be elaborate).

Part IV

## PERFORMANCE OF PUPILS FROM BACKWARD CLASSES

1. (i) It is said that children from Backward Classes when enrolled in schools show some mutable deficiency even at the Primary stage. For example, these children are stated to be shy and timid, slow to learn and entertain some inhibitions when compared to children belonging to forward communities. Consequently these children are not able to catch up with their counterparts and are allowed to continue with the inherited slowness at later stage.

(a) How far do you subscribe to this view?

- (b) Since such a deficiency is considered a mutable deficiency, do you think that a scheme of running Balar Pallies (for children at an earlier age group of 3 to 6) exclusively for children from Backward Classes would help them overcome the deficiency?

Yes ☐ No ☐

(c) Would you offer any other suggestion in this regard.

2. (i) On the whole, leaving exceptional cases, do you think that pupils belonging to Backward Classes are slow learners at Secondary and High School level.

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (ii) If your answer is Yes, do you think that a little more concentration on them by the teachers would enable them to fare better in the exams?

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (iii) Do you think that a scheme of special coaching classes (after school hours) for pupils from Backward Classes who help them improve their standards?

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (iv) If such a scheme is to be implemented would the teachers in the same school take up the work voluntarily with a spirit of service or special remuneration (in the form of honorarium) alone would attract service?

Teachers would  
take up volun-  
tarily ☐

Special remun-  
eration is ne-  
cessary ☐

- (v) Do you think that student organization like Social Service Leagues, Sevak Samages and Planning Forums in Colleges can be profitably utilised for this purpose?

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (vi) Can you suggest any other measure or scheme directed towards improving the academic standard of slow learners (the answer can be elaborate)?

- (vii) Do you observe these slow learners from Backward Classes more in schools located in rural areas or in schools located in urban areas.

Rural schools ☐

Urban schools ☐

### Part V

#### ENVIRONMENTAL DEFICIENCY

1. (i) Do you think that environmental deficiency (for example, the living condition of their families and surroundings are so poor and miserable that they are not quite conducive to academic pursuits) is one of the most important causes for the performance of the pupils from Backward Classes.

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (ii) If your answer is No, what in your consideration is the other most important reason.

- (iii) If your answer is Yes, would you recommend more hostel facilities for boys and girls from Backward Classes to remove the environmental deficiency.

Yes ☐ No ☐

(iv) If your answer (i) again is Yes, can you give a scheme covering a phased programme for five years for increasing hostel facilities in your district.

(v) In towns where more number of hostels cannot be constructed would you suggest the creation of common centres (reading halls) where the pupils from Backward Classes would gather and read.

Yes ☐ No ☐

(vi) Any other suggestion which you might consider to be useful to remove the environmental deficiency may be mentioned here (the answer can be elaborate).

#### Part VI

#### SCHOLARSHIPS, INCENTIVES AND OTHER AMENITIES

1. Is the present rate of Scholarship amount to the pupils adequate?  
If not how much of increase would you suggest?

Yes ☐ No ☐

2. It is commonly complained that the scholarship money is being misused by the recipients, with the result that really deserving people do not get the help. What other schemes would you suggest to serve the purpose for which scholarships are intended.

3. (i) Do you think that if scholarships are paid in kind, instead of money, the scheme would be more purposeful. (i.e. straight-away adjusted towards books, clothing, special fees, etc.)

Yes ☐ No ☐

(ii) It has been suggested that books and stationery should be centrally purchased and distributed by school authorities and the scholarship money should be adjusted towards these payments. Is this feasible?

Yes ☐ No ☐



4. Do you think that instead of an uniform amount being paid as scholarships to the pupils a graded scheme in which the actual amount would be determined on the proven ability of the pupils would act as a deterrant on the indifferent and as an incentive to the promising pupils? Yes ☐ No ☐
5. To encourage better performance among the Backward Classes pupils what other incentive measure would you suggest?
6. (i) Do you think that the idea of "earning while learning" will give a sense of security and pride among the pupils with particular reference to Backward Classes. Yes ☐ No ☐
- (ii) If so, what do you think about the feasibility in introducing scheme like craft section, gardening, bee-keeping, weaving, doll making, etc., in schools out of school hours which will enable the poor pupils to work for some time and earn something.
- (iii) Do you think there are any practical difficulties in the working of such schools (the answer can be elaborate) Yes ☐ No ☐
7. (i) Do you think that nutritional Deficiency is another important cause for the poor performance of pupils from Backward Classes in schools? Yes ☐ No ☐
- (ii) If yes, could you suggest some useful ideas to remove the nutritional deficiency?
- (iii) Give your considered opinion about the midday meals scheme and distribution of free clothes to pupils, taking into account the desirability and feasibility of extending these schemes to have more advantage. (the answer can be elaborate)

Appendix 3

Questionnaire No. II

A SURVEY ON EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS OF STUDENTS BELONGING TO  
BACKWARD CLASSES IN COLLEGIATE EDUCATION,  
TAMIL NADU BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION,  
CHILDREN'S THEATRE BUILDING, MADRAS-2.

Explanatory note and instructions

OBJECT OF THE SURVEY: The survey is intended to assess the performance and progress of students belonging to Backward Class communities in Collegiate Education in Tamil Nadu.

MODE OF ANSWERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE: The answer is to be recorded opposite to the question concerned. The answers could be of these types:

(i) 'YES' or 'NO' answer, which could be done by putting ' / mark in the appropriate box ☐ provided against the question.

(ii) Brief answers, for which space is provided against the question.

(iii) Lengthy answers, for which enough space is provided. If the space provided is inadequate, separate sheet can be attached at the end. But care is to be taken to note down the question numbers in such cases.

Part IGENERAL

1. Name and designation of the Officer answering the Questionnaire.

2. (i) Name of your College

(ii) Location of the College  
(Place and district).

(iii) University to which your College is affiliated.

3. (i) Is your College

Under private Management ☐

Run by the Government ☐

(ii) Is it intended for

Men Students only ☐

Women Students only ☐

Both (co-education) ☐

Post Graduate Course ☐

(iii) Does your College offer

Graduate Course ☐

Pre-University Course ☐

4. (i) What is the strength of your college for the current academic year in

Course	Sanctioned strength	Actual strength
P. U. C.		
B. A.		
B. Sc.		
B. Com.		
M. A.		
M. Sc.		
M. Com.		
Total		

5. If actual strength happen to be less than the sanctioned strength, what factors account for this tendency.

### Part II

#### ENROLMENT OF STUDENTS FROM BACKWARD CLASSES.

1. What percentage would students different 'Classes' form to the total strength for the year 1969-70.

Classes	P. U. C.	B. A. B. Com.	B. Sc.	M. A.	M. Sc. M. Com.
Scheduled Castes and Tribes					
Most Backward Classes					
Backward Classes					
Others					
Total	100	100	100	100	100

2. Can you given the information for the year 1964-65.

	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>			
Classes	'P. U. C.'	'B. A. B. Com.'	'B. Sc.'	'M. A.'	'M. Sc. M. Com.'
Scheduled Castes and Tribes					
Most Back- ward Classes					
Backward Classes					
Others					
Total	100	100	100	100	100

3. The Government of Tamil Nadu maintains a list of Backward Classes (including Most Backward Classes) and 25% of the seats in Educational Institutions are to be reserved for the applicants belonging to such Backward Classes. Apart from this reservation quota of 25%, do many students from Backward Classes secure admission in your College on their merit with high marks and grades?

Yes ☐ No ☐

4. From your experience, would you say that the number of such students increase from year to year.

Yes ☐ No ☐

5. Among them, (students belonging to Backward Classes but who secure admission on merit and not by reservation) students from which Caste/Castes are more in number? Kindly name the castes in the descending order.

(i)  
(ii)  
(iii)  
(iv)  
(v)  
(vi)

6. In the list of selected candidates for the current academic year, you would have noticed that students from some castes would not have secured admission in your College, but for the reservation quota.

Yes. Some caste students would not have secured admission ☐

No. All those who were selected would have been selected even without reservation ☐

No. I did not go through the selection list from this angle ☐

7. If your answer is Yes, kindly name the caste/castes, students from which would not have secured admission in your College but for the reservation of 25%

(i)  
(ii)  
(iii)  
(iv)

Part III

## PERFORMANCE OF STUDENTS BELONGING TO BACKWARD CLASSES

1. What was the percentage of results in your college in the last University Examination (March/April 1969).

---

Course 'Part I'    II    III

---

P.U.C.

B.A.

B.Sc.

B.Com.

M.A.

M.Sc.

M.Com.

---

Total

---

2. As an educationalist with considerable experience and special knowledge about the social structure in our state, it must have interested you to observe as to how the students from Backward Classes fare in their studies, in your College.

Yes ☐No ☐

3. If your answer Yes, what general opinions you have formed about their performance in studies (the answer can be elaborate)

4. An analysis of results for last year must have obviously revealed many causes for failures in your college.

Yes ☐No. Particular cause could be located ☐No. Such analysis was made ☐

5. If your answer is Yes, would you say that in the list of failed candidates, the number of students from Backward Classes is high.

Yes ☐No ☐

6. It is said that students from Backward Classes, barring exceptional cases, are slow learners in general. Do you agree with this view.

Yes ☐No ☐

7. If your answer to the above question is No, what is your view of their progress and performance (the answer can be elaborate).

8. If your answer is Yes, do you agree that slow learning among such students is due to

\*Mutable deficiency ☐

Immutable deficiency ☐

9. If it is due to mutable deficiency, what in your consideration is/are responsible for this (you may mark one, more than one or all if found relevant. If the alternatives do not exhaust the cause, you may kindly give your own explanation).

Environmental Deficiency (the environment in which these students live is not quite conducive for academic pursuits). ☐

Nutritional deficiency (due to poor dieting, mainly because of poverty, such students do not fully concentrate on studies). ☐

Lack of special care and attention (with their inherited slowness, they cannot catch up unless special care is bestowed on them). ☐

10. (i)(a) If you feel that environmental deficiency is one of the major causes, would you suggest that provision of more hostel facilities would go a long way in removing the deficiency.

Yes ☐ No ☐

(b) If no, what alternative would you suggest.

(ii)(a) If you say nutritional deficiency is another important cause would you recommend a midday meals scheme for students from Backward Classes (day scholars only).

Yes ☐ No ☐

(b) Would you recommend free distribution of tonics, multivitamin tablets codliver oil, etc., to such students to remove nutritional deficiency.

Yes ☐ No ☐

(c) You can make any other workable suggestion (The statement can be elaborate)

\*The shade of difference between mutable and immutable lies in that the former can be overcome and the latter cannot be overcome.

- (iii)(a) If you think that the mutable deficiency can be rectified by means of bestowing special attention on such students, do you favour a special coaching scheme for such students in Colleges.

Yes ☐No ☐

- (b) If your answer is No, what alternative would you suggest (the answer can be elaborate).

- (c) If your answer is Yes, would teachers in your College take up the work with a spirit of service or special remuneration alone (in the form of honorarium) would attract service.

Teachers would take up voluntarily ☐Special remuneration is required ☐

- (d) Do you agree that extra-energy and time of the senior students can be usefully channelised into this scheme (for example Post-Graduate students can teach to P.U.C. and Degree students),

Yes ☐No. ☐

- (iv) Can you suggest any other measures or scheme directed towards improving the academic standard of slow learners from Backward Classes (the answer can be elaborate).

11. Even among students from different Backward Classes in your College, students from some caste/castes should be well up in their studies and score good marks compared to students from other Backward Classes. Can you enumerate such of these castes.

Yes ☐No ☐

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

(iv)

(v)

(vi)

Part IV

## HOSTEL ACCOMMODATION

1. Is there a hostel attached to your college. How many students it can accommodate. Yes ☐ No ☐
2. Are you able to provide accommodation in the hostel for all those who apply from Backward Classes. Yes ☐ No ☐
3. From among the applicants from Backward Classes what would be the percentage of rejection for want of accommodation.
4. If the hostel accommodation is disproportionately low compared to the demand, in your College, how much it would cost in financial terms to build additional accommodation on austere standards in order to achieve a reasonable balance between demand and requirement.
5. If your College is under private management will you be able to carry out the expansion without Government financial assistance. Yes ☐ No ☐
6. If your answer is No, how much financial assistance would you require from the Government.

Part V

## SCHOLARSHIPS, INCENTIVES AND OTHER AMENITIES

1. Do you think that the present rate of scholarship amount to students from Backward Classes adequate,
  - (i) Non-residential scholarship Yes ☐ No ☐
  - (ii) Residential scholarship Yes ☐ No ☐
2. If you consider the amount inadequate, how much increase would you suggest.
  - (i) Non-residential scholarship
  - (ii) Residential scholarship



3. It is commonly complained that the scholarship money is being misused by the recipients. What measures would you suggest to plug this loophole and make Government scholarships serve the purpose for which they are intended.

(i) Can the money be paid to the parents or to the College and hostel authorities for direct appropriation.

Yes

☐

No

☐

(ii) It is also alleged that scholarships are obtained by production of Certificates falsifying caste as well as income. Is this abuse extensive.

Yes

☐

No

☐

(iii) What methods you would suggest to stop such abuse.

4. Do you think that instead of an uniform amount (as at present) being paid as scholarships (both residential and non-residential) a graded scheme in which the actual amount would be determined on the proven ability of the students would act as a deterrent on the indifferent and as an incentive to the promising students.

Yes

☐

No

☐

5. If your answer is Yes, what should be the criteria for determining the quantum of scholarships (you can mark one, more than one and all the boxes if found relevant. If the list is not exhaustive in your consideration, you may add any consideration relevant from your point of view).

Marks and Grades scored by the students in the University examination

☐

Marks scored by them in the College examination

☐

Attendance put in by the students

☐

General behaviour of the students

☐

Outstanding performance in extracurricular activities

☐

6. To encourage better performance among the students from Backward Classes, what other incentive measures would you suggest (the answer can be elaborate).

7. Now education is free upto P.U.C. level. Fees are collected only from students at Graduate and Post-Graduate level. Even among them, students from Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Tribes are entitled for scholarship both from the State or from Central Government. Besides there are merit scholarships and loan scholarships. Therefore, virtually, very few students pay college fees. If education is made free at all levels even those few who are left out will be benefitted. Do you subscribe to this view and advocate abolition of fees at all levels. /

Yes

☐

No

☐

8. There is a view, that if selective admission is made to Colleges, the quality of education and general discipline in Colleges would improve. Do you agree with this view.

Yes

☐

No

☐

9. If selective admission is to be made what formula would you suggest without prejudicing the interests of the students from Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Tribes (the answer can be elaborate).

Appendix 4

## EDUCATIONAL PARTICULARS

Number of students in different courses

Sl. No.		I	II	III	IV
1	Total for all classes	1,91,853	1,089	NA	NA
2	Total for Backward Classes as a whole (Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes together)	Number 63,952 Percentage 33.3	436 40.0	529 -	2,857 -
3	Share of Backward Classes only (other than Most Backward Classes) in the total for Backward Classes as a whole	Number 51,849 Percentage 81.1	395 90.6	471 89.0	2,518 88.1
4	Share of Most Back- ward Classes only (other than Backward Classes) in the total for Backward Classes as a whole.	Number 12,103 Percentage 18.9	41 9.4	58 11.0	339 11.9

NA: Not Available

I: Number of students who appeared for S.S.L.C. Examination in March 1970.

II: Number of students selected for admission into Engineering Colleges in July 1970.

III: Number of students studying in Ist Year M.B.B.S. Class in all Medical Colleges (except Christian Medical College, Vellore) during 1969-70).

IV: Number of students studying in Medical Colleges in all classes (except Christian Medical College, Vellore) during 1969-70.

## EDUCATIONAL PARTICULARS

Number of students in different courses

S. No. '1	Caste	I	II	III	IV
1	Agamudayan	5,755	47	83	469
2	Thuluva Vellala				
3	Ambalakaran	374	1	--	5
4	Andipandaram (Jangam)	417	1	1	10
5	Badaga	894	2	6	24
6	Bestha, Siviari	10	--	--	1
7	Bhatraju	--	--	1	1
8	Billava	--	--	--	1
9	Bondil	62	--	1	3
10	Boya, Odde	348	3	--	5
11	Dasari	7	--	1	3
12	Devanga, Sedan	1,817	28	37	174
13	Dommara	1	--	--	--
14	Dudekula	--	--	--	--
15	Enadi	--	--	--	--
16	Eravallari	--	--	--	--
17	Gangavars	10	--	--	--
18	Gavara	2,152	18	17	129
19	Gowda	201	1	2	8
20	Gramani, Shanani, Nadar	6,402	51	53	262
21	Hegde	--	--	--	--
22	Idiga including Setti Baliya	381	--	5	26
23	Illuvan, Ezhuvar, Illathar	809	1	4	12
24	Isaivellalar or Melakkarar	250	2	33	21
25	Jambavanodai	--	--	--	--
26	Jhetty	20	--	--	1
27	Jogi	4	--	--	1
28	Kabbora	--	1	--	--
29	Kadupattan	--	--	--	--
30	Kaikkolan (Sengunthar)	3,836	32	43	256
31	Kalingi	--	--	--	--
32	Kallar	3,047	4	16	92
33	Kammalar	2,723	22	8	59
34	Kani or Kanisu, Kaniyar Panickar	21	--	--	--
35	Kannadiyar	1	3	2	5
36	Katesan or Pattamkatti	--	--	--	--
37	Kavuthian	3	--	--	--
38	Kerala Mudalia	--	--	--	--
39	Kharvi	5	--	--	--
40	Khatra	5	1	--	1
41	Kongu Chettiar	35	--	1	10
42	Koppalavelamas	--	--	--	--
43	Koteyar	--	--	--	--
44	Kulala	685	3	2	16
45	Kunnuvar Mannadi	7	--	1	2
46	Kuruba, Kurumba	2	2	--	10
47	Kuruhihi Chetty	--	--	--	--
48	Labba	2,495	25	52	262
49	Lambadies	3	--	--	--
50	Maharatta (Non-Brahmin)	211	3	1	11
51	Mappilla	3	--	1	3
52	Maravar	1,793	6	12	55

## EDUCATIONAL PARTICULARS--cont.

## Number of students in different courses--cont.

S.No.	Caste	I	II	III	IV
53	Maruthuvar	1,396	4	4	39
54	Moniagar	13	---	1	1
55	Moundadan Chetty	---	---	---	---
56	Muduga, Medava, Mahendra Medavar	90	---	---	2
57	Mukkuvan	159	---	---	---
58	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	623	1	---	---
59	Mutlakampatti	---	---	---	---
60	Nagaram	149	1	2	11
61	Narikoravan	---	---	---	---
62	Nokkar	2	---	---	---
63	Odiya	---	---	---	---
64	Pamulu	---	---	---	---
65	Pannayar or Pannaiyar	3	---	---	---
66	Paravans	142	1	---	---
67	Paravan Christian	---	---	1	1
68	Parkavakulam	900	10	5	27
69	Parvatha Rajakulam	448	1	2	6
70	Perike, Perike Baliya	---	---	2	3
71	Poraya	---	---	---	---
72	Pulluvan	4	---	---	---
73	Punnan Vettuva Gounder	1	---	---	---
74	Pusala	---	---	---	---
75	Rajpuri	11	---	---	---
76	Reddi (Ganjam)	170	4	3	29
77	Sadhu Chetty	1,026	13	16	78
78	Saliyan	507	11	7	36
79	Sathatha Srivaishnava	105	2	1	6
80	Senaithalaivar	400	2	3	25
81	Sourashtra	1,485	35	16	76
82	Sozhia Chetty	37	---	1	4
83	Srisayana	---	---	---	---
84	Telupathy Chetty	Included in item No. 77			
85	Thiyyas	---	1	---	---
86	Thogata Veera Kshatriya	---	---	---	---
87	Tholva Naicken & Vettaikara	---	---	---	---
	Naicken	70	2	1	4
88	Thoraiyan	8	---	---	---
89	Thottia Naicker	48	---	---	---
90	Tondaman	29	---	---	---
91	Uppara	27	2	---	---
92	Urali Goundan	131	2	4	12
93	Vadugan	2,066	17	31	149
94	Valaiyan	332	---	---	2
95	Valmiki	90	---	---	1
96	Vaniyar	5,367	9	3	11
97	Vannan	835	---	---	1
98	Vanniakula Kshatriya	6,301	19	39	187
99	Vettaikaran	6	---	---	---
100	Vettuva Gounder	110	---	---	3
101	Virakodi Vellala	1,216	4	7	44
102	Vokkaliga	640	3	3	32
103	Wynad Chetty	20	---	---	---

## EDUCATIONAL PARTICULARS--cont.

Number of students in different courses--cont.

S.No.¹	Caste	I	II	III	IV
104	Yadava	3,350	15	22	85
105	Yogeeswaran	10	--	--	--
106	Araya	--	--	--	--
107	Chetties	236	--	--	2
108	C.S.I. & S.I.U.C.	--	1	1	18
109	Ezhavathy	--	--	--	--
110	Ezhuthacchan	1	--	--	--
111	Krishnavaka	143	--	--	1
112	Latin Catholics	--	--	--	1
113 ²	Pattariyars or Pattariar	--	--	--	--
114	Veerasaivas	23	--	--	1
115	Veians	1	--	--	--
116	Veluthedathu Nairs	--	--	--	--
117	Vilakkathala Nairs	1	--	--	--
118	Other Backward Classes	65	19	1	21
119	Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes	361	--	--	--
Total		64,313	436	529	2,857

- I No. of students who appeared for S.S.L.C. Examination in March 1970.
- II Number of students selected for admission into Engineering Colleges in July 1970.
- III Number of students studying in I Year M.B.B.S. Class in all Medical Colleges (except Christian Medical College, Vellore) during 1969-70.
- IV Number of students studying in Medical Colleges in all classes (except Christian Medical College, Vellore) during 1969-70.

## Appendix 5

NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED FOR ADMISSION INTO  
MEDICAL COLLEGES 1970.

Sl. No.		M.B.B.S.		B.D.S.	B.Pharm- acy
		90% quota	10% quota		
1	Total number of applications received from all Classes	7,062	729	404	753
2	Applications received from Backward Classes as a whole (Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes together)				
	Number	3,514	383	202	407
	Percentage	49.8	52.5	50.0	54.1
3	Share of Backward Classes only (other than Most Backward Classes) in the total for Backward Classes as a whole				
	Number	3,069	345	183	368
	Percentage	87.3	90.1	90.6	90.4
4	Share of Most Backward Classes only (other than Backward Classes) in the total for Backward Classes as a whole				
	Number	445	38	19	39
	Percentage	12.7	9.9	9.4	9.6

NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED FROM BACKWARD CLASSES FOR  
ADMISSION INTO MEDICAL COLLEGES 1970.

Sl. No.	Caste	M.B.B.S.		B.D.S.	B.Pharm.
		90%	10%		
1	Agamudaiyan	373	27	28	39
2	Thuluva Vellala	77	4	--	9
3	Ambalakaran	13	1	--	--
4	Andipandram (Jangam)	22	1	1	3
5	Badaga	48	--	2	--
6	Bestha, Siviara	1	1	--	--
7	Bhatraju	8	--	--	--
8	Billava	1	--	--	--
9	Bondil	4	--	--	1
10	Boya, Odde	9	1	--	2
11	Dasari	5	--	--	--
12	Devanga	174	23	11	15
13	Gavara	164	21	17	13
14	Gowda	12	--	--	2
15	Gramani, Shanana, Nadar	359	61	15	34
16	Idiga including Setti Baliya	30	3	4	5
17	Illuvana, Ezhuvana, Illathar	15	3	1	1
18	Isaivellalar or Melakkarar	22	1	--	--
19	Jambuvanaodai	--	--	--	--
20	Jetty	1	--	--	--
21	Jogi	2	--	--	--
22	Kabbora	1	--	--	--
23	Kadupattan	1	--	--	--
24	Kaikolan (Sengunthar)	305	23	20	30
25	Kallar	107	9	1	3
26	Kammalan	59	4	2	10
27	Kani or Kanisu, Kaniyar Panikkar	--	--	--	--
28	Kannadiyan	15	1	--	2
29	Katesan or Pattamkatti	1	--	--	--
30	Khathri	1	--	--	--
31	Kongu Chettiar	5	1	--	1
32	Koppalavelama	1	--	--	--
33	Koteyar	1	1	--	--
34	Kulala	24	3	1	2
35	Kuruba, Kurumba	3	--	1	1
36	Labbai	361	55	24	54
37	Mahratta (Non-Brahmin)	13	2	--	3
38	Mappilla	4	1	--	--
39	Maravar	68	13	1	2
40	Maruthuvar	34	3	4	4
41	Moniagar	1	--	--	--
42	Mukkuvan	1	--	--	--
43	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	25	3	1	1
44	Nagaram	12	--	--	2
45	Paravans	3	--	--	--
46	Parkavakulam	37	4	1	4
47	Parvatharajakulam	16	--	--	1
48	Perike, Perike Baliya	5	--	4	3
49	Poraya	--	1	--	--
50	Rajpuri	--	1	--	--



NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED FROM BACKWARD CLASSES FOR  
ADMISSION INTO MEDICAL COLLEGES 1970--cont.

Sl. No.	Castes	M.B.B.S.		B.D.S.	B.Pharm.
		90%	10%		
51	Reddi (Ganjam)	30	2	3	2
52	Sadhu Chetty	75	12	3	10
53	Saliyan	55	2	3	7
54	Thogattaveera Kshatriya	—	1	—	—
55	Sathatha Srivaishnava	10	1	—	—
56	Senaithalaivan	18	3	1	7
57	Sourashtra	109	19	11	48
58	Sozhia Chetty	10	—	—	1
59	Telupathy Chetty	(including in item No. 77)			
60	Thiyyas	8	1	—	1
61	Tholuva Naicker and Vettaikara Naicker	13	—	1	1
62	Tohdaman	1	—	—	—
63	Uppara	1	—	—	—
64	Urali Goundan	3	1	—	—
65	Vadugan	124	15	8	27
66	Valaiyan	4	—	—	—
67	Vaniyar	107	2	9	14
68	Vannan	10	—	1	3
69	Vanniakula Kshatriya	217	24	9	19
70	Vettuva Gounder	8	1	1	—
71	Virakodi Vellala	49	6	1	4
72	Vokkaliga	35	1	4	3
73	Yadava, Mondgolla	108	11	6	10
74	Yogeeswaran	2	—	—	1
75	C.S.I. & S.I.U.C.	21	—	—	—
76	Krishnavaka	3	2	—	1
77	Latin Catholics	11	2	—	—
78	Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes	30	3	2	1
79	Other Backward Classes	9	2	—	—
Total number of applications received from Backward Classes as a whole		3514	383	202	407
Number of applications received from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes		544	9	25	16
Number of applications received from others including forward classes		3004	337	177	330
Total number of applications received from all cases		7062	729	404	753

Appendix 6EMPLOYMENT PARTICULARSSecretariat (All Departments)

## NUMBER EMPLOYED

Sl. No.	Caste	Non-gazetted			Gazetted		
		Junior Asst.	Asst. Supdt.	Asst. Secy.	Secy.	IAS	
1	Agamudayan	34	28	19	2	2	--
2	Thuluva Vellala	22	22	18	1	1	--
3	Ambalakaran	1	1	--	--	--	--
4	Andipandaram (Jangam)	--	1	--	--	--	--
5	Bondil	--	2	--	--	--	--
6	Boya and Odde	--	1	--	--	--	--
7	Devanga, Sedan	2	6	2	--	--	--
8	Gavara	6	16	7	1	1	--
9	Gowda	--	2	--	--	--	--
10	Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	20	18	10	1	--	--
11	Idiga including Setti						
	Baliya	7	4	1	--	--	--
12	Illuyan, Ezhuvan Illathar	1	2	--	--	--	--
13	Isaivellalar or Melakakarar	1	1	2	1	--	--
14	Kaikolan (Sengunthar)	10	21	10	4	--	--
15	Kallar	6	15	5	--	1	--
16	Kammalan	10	11	10	--	--	--
17	Kania or Kanisu, Kaniyar						
	Panikkar	--	--	1	--	--	--
18	Kannadiyan	--	3	1	--	--	--
19	Kulala	1	--	1	--	--	--
20	Labbai	16	35	16	1	2	1
21	Mahratta (Non-Brahmin)	4	5	--	--	--	--
22	Mappilla	--	1	1	--	--	--
23	Maravar	3	11	3	1	1	--
24	Maruthuvar	1	5	1	--	--	--
25	Muthuraja, Muthiriyar	3	2	1	--	--	--
26	Nagaram	2	2	--	--	--	--
27	Paravan Christian	2	--	--	--	--	--
28	Parkavakulam	--	4	1	--	--	--
29	Parvatharajakulam	4	1	--	--	--	--
30	Rajpuri	--	1	1	--	--	--
31	Reddi (Ganjam)	1	5	1	--	--	--
32	Sadhu Chetty	4	6	2	--	--	--
33	Saliyan	3	9	2	--	--	--
34	Sathatha Srivaishnava	1	3	--	--	--	--
35	Senaithalaivan	1	1	--	--	--	--
36	Sourashtra	9	19	11	--	--	--
37	Sozhia Chetty	1	--	--	--	--	--
38	Thiyyas	2	1	--	1	--	--
39	Thondaman	--	1	--	--	--	--
40	Thottia Naicken	2	--	--	--	--	--
41	Urali Goundan	1	--	--	--	--	--
42	Vadugan	4	7	5	2	--	--

## Appendix 6--cont.

EMPLOYMENT PARTICULARS--cont.Secretariat (All Departments)--cont.

## NUMBER EMPLOYED--cont.

Sl. No.	Caste	Non-gazetted			Gazetted		
		Junior Asst.	Asst.	Supdt.	Asst. Secy.	Secy.	IAS
43	Vakkaliga	--	3	--	--	--	--
44	Vaniyar	5	14	2	2	--	--
45	Vannan	--	--	1	--	--	--
46	Vanniakula Kshatria	17	39	11	1	--	1
47	Virakodi Vellala	--	7	--	--	--	--
48	Yadava, Mond Golla	10	18	2	--	1	--
49	C.S.I. & S.I.U.C.	--	--	1	--	1	--
50	Latin Catholics	1	2	--	--	--	--
51	Pattariyars or Pattariar	--	--	1	--	--	--
52	Vilakkathala Nair	--	1	--	--	--	--
53	Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes	8	4	2	--	--	--
54	Other Backward Classes	12	22	6	--	--	--
Total		237	383	140	21	10	2

## Appendix 7

## EMPLOYMENT PARTICULARS

## Heads of Departments (36 Departments)

## NUMBER EMPLOYED

Sl. No.	Caste	Non-Gazetted					Gazetted		
		Jr. Asst. Grade	Asst. Grade	Supdt. Grade	Dy. Tldr. Grade	Tldr. Grade	Dy. Colr. Grade	DRD Grade	Above Rs. 1,000 Grade
1	Agamudaiyan	742	503	865	82	28	18	7	4
2	Thuluva Vellala	251	254	132	56	21	15	18	4
3	Ambalakaran	37	24	4	2	2	---	---	---
4	Andipandaram (Jangam)	56	42	21	7	2	---	---	---
5	Badaga	21	39	52	9	11	1	---	---
6	Bestha, Siviar	3	4	2	---	---	---	---	---
7	Billava	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
8	Bondil	5	5	4	---	1	1	---	---
9	Boya and Odde	25	9	8	2	2	---	1	---
10	D <sub>asari</sub>	---	1	2	---	---	---	---	---
11	Devanga, Sedan	121	143	84	32	16	6	2	---
12	Gangavara	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
13	Gavara	386	288	171	24	15	14	2	---
14	Gowda	10	11	20	1	1	2	---	---
15	Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	532	238	205	80	42	20	6	2
16	Hedge	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
17	Idiga including Setti Baliya	20	37	22	6	1	1	---	---
18	Illuvan, Ezhuvan, Illathar,	65	28	26	11	---	---	---	---
19	Isaivellalar or Melakkarar,	24	23	19	5	1	---	---	---
20	Jhetty	5	2	1	4	---	---	---	---
21	Jogi	3	---	1	---	---	1	---	---
22	Kaikolan (Sengunthar),	343	264	270	58	25	17	9	1
23	Kallar	283	307	152	57	10	12	1	---
24	Kammalan	369	359	148	43	19	7	1	---
25	Kani or Kanisu, Kaniyar Panikkar,	12	5	7	---	---	---	---	---
26	Kannadiyan	23	18	8	---	---	---	---	---
27	Kerala Mudali	1	1	1	---	---	---	---	---
28	Khatri	1	---	---	2	---	---	---	---
29	Kongu Chettiar	2	2	3	2	1	---	---	---
30	Koteyar	1	1	2	---	---	---	---	---
31	Kulala	56	44	47	8	5	1	---	---
32	Kunnuvar Mannadi	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
33	Kuruba, Kurumba	8	11	4	---	---	1	---	---
34	Labbai	208	223	126	50	16	13	3	1
35	Mahratta (Non-Brahmin)	39	16	16	9	---	1	---	---

## Appendix 7--cont.

## EMPLOYMENT PARTICULARS--cont.

## Heads of Departments (36 Departments)--cont.

## NUMBER EMPLOYED--cont.

Sl. No.	Caste	Non-Gazetted					Gazetted		
		Jr. Asst. Grade	Asst. Grade	Supdt. Grade	Dy. Tldr. Grade	Tldr. Grade	Dy. Colr. Grade	DRD Grade	Above Rs. 1,000 Grade
36	Mappilla	3	14	4	1	2	---	1	---
37	Maravar	371	199	106	29	8	15	5	1
38	Maruthuvar	97	75	50	6	3	2	---	---
39	Moniagar	4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
40	Muduga, Medava, Mahendra Medavas	---	1	1	1	---	---	---	---
41	Mukkuvan	5	---	1	---	---	---	---	---
42	Muthuraja, Muthiriyar	55	32	19	9	2	---	---	---
43	Nagaram	15	14	7	3	2	---	---	---
44	Odiya	1	---	---	2	---	---	---	---
45	Pannayar or Pannaiyar	---	2	---	1	---	---	---	---
46	Paravan	9	3	5	1	---	1	---	---
47	Paravan Christian	4	---	1	---	---	---	---	---
48	Parkavakulam	93	101	52	19	---	1	---	---
49	Parvatharajakulam	25	18	13	3	2	---	---	---
50	Perike, Perike Baliya	---	---	---	4	---	---	---	---
51	Pulluvan	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---
52	Pusala	1	1	1	---	---	---	---	---
53	Rajpuri	6	5	3	1	---	---	---	---
54	Reddi (Ganjam)	34	20	12	8	1	1	---	---
55	Sadhu Chetty	70	73	56	21	2	---	---	---
56	Saliyan	48	42	39	17	2	---	---	---
57	Sathatha Sri-vaishnava	13	12	9	1	3	1	---	---
58	Senaithalaivan	38	26	27	14	4	1	1	---
59	Sourashtra	146	149	44	27	11	10	3	---
60	Sozhia Chetty	13	18	4	2	---	---	---	---
61	Thiyyas	---	1	2	---	3	2	---	---
62	Thogata Veera-shatriya	---	---	3	1	---	---	---	---
63	Tholuva Naicken and Vettaikara Naicken	26	17	11	2	3	---	---	---
64	Thondaman	10	5	9	1	---	---	---	---
65	Thoraiyan	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
66	Thottia Naicken	1	1	3	1	---	---	---	---
67	Uppara	5	1	3	3	---	---	---	---
68	Urali Gounden	4	3	3	1	4	2	---	---
69	Vadugan	186	196	135	25	14	7	2	1
70	Vakkaliga	24	30	20	2	---	2	1	1

## Appendix 7--cont.

## EMPLOYMENT PARTICULARS--cont.

## Heads of Departments (36 Departments)--cont.

## NUMBER EMPLOYED--cont.

Sl. No.	Caste	Non-Gazetted					Gazetted		
		Jr. Asst. Grade	Asst. Grade	Super. Grade	Dy. Tldr. Grade	Tldr. Grade	Dy. Colr. Grade	DRO Grade	Above Rs. 1,000 Grade
71	Valiyan	5	4	---	---	---	---	---	---
72	Valmiki	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
73	Vaniyar	136	92	79	23	23	1	1	---
74	Vannan	54	40	21	13	3	1	1	---
75	Vanniakula Nollur Kshatriya	1124	677	334	78	22	6	6	1
76	Vettaikaran	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
77	Vettuva Gounder	20	16	5	1	---	---	---	---
78	Virakodi Vellala	158	118	48	14	4	---	6	---
79	Yadava, Mond Golla	376	284	182	51	19	10	4	---
80	Yogeeswaran	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
81	Araya	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
82	Chettis	---	1	1	---	---	1	---	---
83	C.S.I. & S.I.U.C.	---	4	5	2	---	1	1	---
84	Ezhuthachan	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
85	Krishnavaka	1	2	---	1	---	---	---	---
86	Latin Catholics	6	2	4	1	---	---	---	---
87	Pattariyars or Pattariar	---	2	---	---	---	---	---	---
88	Veerasaivas	1	1	---	4	---	---	---	---
89	Velans	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	---
90	Villakkathala Nairs	---	10	1	---	---	---	---	---
91	Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes	187	25	18	5	1	1	1	---
92	Other Backward Classes	279	215	300	32	24	4	1	---
Total		7321	5467	4065	981	366	201	84	16

## Appendix 8

## EMPLOYMENT PARTICULARS

## COLLECTORATES

(All except Thanjavur and Tirunelveli)

## NUMBER EMPLOYED

Sl. No.	Caste	Non-Gazetted				Gazetted		
		LDC	UDC	Dy. Tldr.	Tldr.	Dy. Collr.	DRO	IAS
1	Agamudayan	143	67	31	11	---	---	---
2	Thuluva Vellala	129	61	25	12	---	---	---
3	Ambalakaran	7	7	1	---	---	---	---
4	Andipandaram (Jangam)	8	4	---	---	1	---	---
5	Badaga	18	12	4	1	---	---	---
6	Billava	---	---	---	1	---	---	---
7	Boya and Odde	6	---	---	---	---	---	---
8	Devanga, Sedan	57	38	11	3	1	---	---
9	Gavara	37	53	21	4	1	---	---
10	Gowda	6	4	2	---	---	---	---
11	Bondil	---	1	---	---	---	---	---
12	Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	115	63	16	14	1	1	---
13	Idiga including Setti Baliya	3	1	---	---	---	---	---
14	Illuvan, Ezhuvan, Illathar	17	4	1	---	---	---	---
15	Isaivellalar or Melakkarar	4	1	---	1	---	---	---
16	Jogi	---	1	---	---	---	---	---
17	Kadupattan	---	1	---	---	---	---	---
18	Kaikolan (Sengunthar)	128	82	30	11	2	---	---
19	Kallar	34	22	2	1	3	---	---
20	Kammalan	88	41	25	3	1	---	---
21	Kaniar or Kanisu, Kaniyar Panikkar	1	1	---	---	---	---	---
22	Kabbora	7	6	---	---	---	---	---
23	Kannadiyan	12	4	---	1	---	---	---
24	Kerala Mudali	4	1	---	---	---	---	---
25	Kongu Chettiar	---	1	---	---	---	---	---
26	Kulala	8	2	4	---	---	---	---
27	Kuruba, Kurumba	7	3	---	---	---	---	---
28	Labbai	86	33	14	5	---	---	---
29	Mahratta (Non-Brahmin)	---	2	---	---	1	---	---
30	Mappilla	5	3	---	---	---	---	---
31	Maravar	85	62	11	5	1	---	---
32	Maruthuvar	8	4	3	---	---	---	---
33	Moniagar	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
34	Moundadan Chetty	1	1	---	---	---	---	---
35	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	11	5	---	1	---	---	---
36	Nagaram	1	3	---	---	---	---	---
37	Paravan Christian	---	1	---	---	---	---	---
38	Parkavakulam	17	10	2	---	1	---	---
39	Parvatharajakulam	8	3	3	1	---	---	---
40	Rajpuri	2	1	---	---	---	---	---
41	Reddi (Ganjam)	7	4	---	---	---	---	---
42	Sadhu Chetty	9	12	---	1	---	---	---
43	Saliyan	9	11	1	1	---	---	---

## Appendix 8--cont.

EMPLOYMENT PARTICULARS--cont.COLLECTORATES--cont.

(All except Thanjavur and Tirunelveli)--cont.

## NUMBER EMPLOYED--cont.

Sl. No.	Caste	Non-Gazetted				Gazetted		
		LDC	UDC	Dy. Tldr.	Tldr.	Dy. Collr.	DRO	IAS
44	Sathatha Srivaishnava	3	2	--	--	--	--	--
45	Senaithalaivan	3	4	1	1	--	--	--
46	Sourashtra	63	23	11	1	--	--	--
47	Sozhia Chetty	13	5	--	--	--	--	--
48	Thiyyas	4	1	--	--	--	--	--
49	Tholuva Naicken and Vettai- kara Naicken	4	2	1	--	--	--	--
50	Thottia Naicken	3	1	--	--	--	--	--
51	Uppara	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
52	Urali Goundan	3	2	--	--	--	--	--
53	Vadugan	52	41	10	3	4	--	--
54	Vakkaliga	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
55	Valaiyan	1	1	--	--	--	--	--
56	Vaniyar	28	14	8	1	2	--	--
57	Vanniakula Kshatriya	227	89	35	12	2	--	--
58	Virakodi Vellala	45	22	11	9	--	--	--
59	Vannan	12	3	1	2	1	--	--
60	Yadava, Mond Golla	102	46	20	6	2	--	--
61	Chettis	5	2	--	--	--	--	--
62	Krishnavaka	6	1	1	--	--	--	--
63	Vilakkathala Nairs	2	1	--	--	--	--	--
64	Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes	11	10	--	--	--	--	--
65	Other Backward Classes	190	98	6	--	1	--	--
Total for Backward Classes as a whole		1818	1004	312	112	26	1	--
Total for all classes		3795	1942	762	333	87	10	12



## Appendix 9

## EMPLOYMENT PARTICULARS

## EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

NUMBER EMPLOYED  
(Collegiate teaching staff only)

Sl. No.	Caste	Non-Gazetted		Gazetted	
		Tutors and others	Assistant Professors	Professors	Principal
1	Agamudaiyan	23	29	16	--
2	Thuluva Vellala	11	36	3	2
3	Andipandaram (Jangam)	1	2	1	--
4	Badaga	1	5	--	--
5	Bhatraju	--	1	--	--
6	Bondil	--	1	--	--
7	Boya and Odde	--	3	--	--
8	Devanga, Sedan	13	15	2	--
9	Gavara	15	15	2	--
10	Gowda	--	1	--	--
11	Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	12	22	6	--
12	Idiga including Setti Baliya	1	1	--	--
13	Illuvan, Ezhuvan, Illathar	--	1	--	--
14	Isaivellalar or Melakkarar	5	--	1	--
15	Jhetty	--	1	--	--
16	Kaikolan (Sengunthar)	21	39	8	6
17	Kallar	19	16	3	--
18	Kammalan	15	9	--	--
19	Kulala	--	3	--	--
20	Labbai	12	12	4	--
21	Mahratta (Non-Brahmin)	--	2	--	--
22	Mappilla	--	3	--	--
23	Maravar	--	8	--	--
24	Maruthuvar	2	4	--	--
25	Muduga, Medara, Mahendra Medavar	1	--	--	--
26	Muthuraja, Muthiriyar	4	3	--	--
27	Nagaram	--	2	1	--
28	Parkavakulam	3	11	--	1
29	Parvatharajakulam	2	5	2	--
30	Sadhu Chetty	3	5	--	--
31	Saliyan	4	1	--	--
32	Sathatha Srivaishnava	1	2	--	--
33	Senaithalaivan	--	2	--	--
34	Sourashtra	7	10	--	--
35	Sozhia Chetty	--	1	--	--
36	Vadugan	10	13	4	--
37	Vannan	--	4	--	--
38	Vakkaliga	2	3	--	--
39	Vaniyar	8	10	2	--
40	Vanniakula Kshatriya	41	47	7	1
41	Vettuva Gounder	--	1	--	--
42	Virakodi Vellala	1	18	--	--
43	Yadava, Mond Golla	6	11	2	1
44	Krishnavaka	--	1	--	--
45	Other Backward Classes	1	7	1	1
Total		245	388	65	12

Appendix 10NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED BY TAMIL NADU PUBLIC SERVICE  
COMMISSION FOR GROUP-I SERVICES (1965-69)

Sl. No.		Year				
		1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
1	Total number of applications from all classes.	503	613	209	873	NA
2	Applications received from (No.) Backward Classes as a whole.	369	401	169	596	418
	Percentage	73.4	65.4	80.9	68.3	NA
3	Share of Most Backward Classes only in the total number received from Backward Classes.	56	59	31	97	63
	Percentage	15.2	14.7	18.3	16.3	15.1

NA - Not available.

NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED BY TAMIL NADU PUBLIC SERVICE  
COMMISSION FOR GROUP-I SERVICES (1965-69)

Sl. No.	Caste	Year				
		1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
1	Agamudaiyan	21	18	8	30	30
2	Thuluva Vellala	20	19	8	29	25
3	Ambalakaran	4	--	--	1	1
4	Andipandaram (Jangam)	2	1	2	5	2
5	Badaga	3	7	2	6	2
6	Bestha, Siviar	1	--	--	--	--
7	Bondil	--	1	--	1	2
8	Boya and Odde	1	1	1	5	1
9	Devanga, Sedan	10	13	3	19	11
10	Gavara	14	12	7	25	18
11	Gowda	2	5	2	6	5
12	Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	34	42	17	51	31
13	Indiga including Setti Baliya	2	4	--	3	4
14	Illuvan, Ezuvan Illathar	--	1	--	2	2
15	Isaivellalar or Melakkarar	2	3	1	1	5
16	Jaggi	--	--	--	--	1
17	Kaikolan (Sengunthar)	21	23	9	39	25
18	Kallar	22	23	13	34	22
19	Kammalan	6	3	--	12	5
20	Kannadiyan	--	--	--	--	1
21	Kerala Mudali	--	--	--	--	1
22	Kongu Chettiar	--	1	--	--	--
23	Koppalavelawas	--	1	--	1	--
24	Kulala	3	--	1	3	2
25	Kuruba, Kurumba	1	2	--	1	1
26	Labbai	29	30	12	46	24
27	Mahratta (Non-brahmin)	3	4	1	4	2
28	Maravar	18	21	8	35	25
29	Maruthuvar	3	3	3	4	2
30	Moniagar	--	1	--	--	1
31	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	4	1	1	--	1
32	Nagaram	1	2	3	3	--
33	Paravan Christian	--	--	--	1	--
34	Parkavakulam	8	6	6	10	15
35	Parvatha Rajakulam	2	2	1	4	1
36	Rajpuri	--	1	--	--	--
37	Reddi (Ganjam)	2	7	3	8	6
38	Sadhu Chetty	9	12	3	10	6
39	Saliyan	2	4	--	1	2
40	Sathatha Srivaishnava	--	1	--	1	2
41	Senaithalaivan	3	2	2	7	3
42	Sourashtra	5	5	4	5	4
43	Sozhia Chetty	--	--	--	3	--
44	Tholuva Naicken and Vettaik- kara Naicken	--	2	--	3	--
45	Thondaman	--	--	--	2	1
46	Thottia Naicken	1	--	--	--	1
47	Uppara	--	--	--	2	--
48	Urali Goundan	--	--	--	--	1
49	Vadugan	25	25	9	22	15
50	Vakkaliga	6	9	--	6	2

NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED BY TAMIL NADU PUBLIC SERVICE  
COMMISSION FOR GROUP-1 SERVICES (1965-69)--cont.

Sl. No.	Caste	Year				
		1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
51	Valiyan	1	1	1	1	2
52	Vaniyar	4	2	3	5	13
53	Vannan	1	4	1	1	1
54	Vanniakula Kshatriya	31	35	20	60	37
55	Vettuva Gounder	3	5	1	3	3
56	Virakodi Vellala	9	10	2	13	12
57	Yadava, Mond Golla	17	14	5	40	17
58	C.S.I. & S.I.U.C.	7	5	3	9	4
59	Krishnavaka	--	1	1	--	--
60	Latin Catholics	--	1	--	7	1
61	Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes.	2	2	1	2	7
62	Other Backward Classes	4	3	1	4	10
Total		369	401	169	596	418

Appendix 11

NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED BY TAMIL NADU PUBLIC SERVICE  
COMMISSION FOR GROUP-II SERVICES (1965-69)

Sl. No.	Year				
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
1	Total number of applications from all castes.				
	1,349	1,816	1,234	1,936	2,730
2	Applications received from Backward Classes as a whole				
	Number				
	929	1,202	833	1,291	1,796
	Percentage				
	68.9	66.2	67.5	66.7	65.8
3	Share of Most Backward Classes in the total number received from Backward Classes as a whole				
	Number				
	127	172	130	184	239
	Percentage				
	13.7	14.3	15.6	14.3	13.3

NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED BY TAMIL NADU PUBLIC SERVICE  
COMMISSION FOR GROUP-II SERVICES (1965-69)

Sl. No.	Caste	Year				
		1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
1	Agamudaiyan	54	67	57	96	1110
2	Thuluva Vellala	36	42	28	40	57
3	Ambalakaran	4	10	4	6	7
4	Andipandaram (Jangam)	3	5	4	4	11
5	Badaga	15	13	11	23	138
6	Bestha, Siviari	--	--	--	--	1
7	Bhatraju	--	--	--	--	1
8	Billava	--	--	--	--	1
9	Bondil	--	1	3	4	4
10	Boya and Odde	--	1	1	4	2
11	Devanga, Sedan	22	34	21	36	47
12	Dudekula	--	1	--	--	--
13	Enadi	--	--	1	--	--
14	Gangavars	1	1	1	1	2
15	Gavara	39	49	31	38	59
16	Gowda	8	9	9	9	8
17	Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	80	101	55	135	183
18	Idiga including Setti Baliya	2	2	3	2	5
19	Illuvan, Ezhuvar, Illathar	3	6	4	9	13
20	Isai Vellalar or Melakkarar	5	8	3	6	9
21	Jhetty	2	--	--	--	1
22	Jogi	2	1	2	2	2
23	Kaikolan (Sengunthar)	51	69	47	69	91
24	Kalingi	--	--	--	1	--
25	Kallar	47	49	26	39	51
26	Kammalan	30	37	27	37	53
27	Kani or Kanisu, Kaniyar Panakkkar.	--	--	--	1	--
28	Kannadiyan	--	4	1	4	6
29	Kerala Mudali	1	1	--	1	1
30	Kongu Chettiar	1	--	--	--	1
31	Koteyar	--	--	--	--	1
32	Kulala	6	10	7	11	9
33	Kuruba, Kurumba	--	2	1	3	4
34	Labbai	67	76	72	96	166
35	Lambadis	--	--	--	1	--
36	Mahratta (Non-brahmin)	8	5	1	4	7
37	Mappilla	1	--	--	1	4
38	Maravar	35	64	38	59	80
39	Maruthuvar	10	16	9	15	31
40	Moniagar	--	1	--	--	--
41	Muduga, Medava, Mahendra Medavar	--	--	--	1	--
42	Mukkuvar	2	--	--	--	1
43	Nagaram	3	--	1	3	4
44	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	8	5	4	3	5
45	Parkavakulam	19	23	8	22	29
46	Paravan Christian	1	1	--	1	4
47	Parvatha Rajakulam	3	5	2	6	3

NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED BY TAMIL NADU PUBLIC SERVICE  
COMMISSION FOR GROUP-II SERVICES (1965-69)--cont.

Sl. No.	Caste	Year				
		1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
48	Perike, Perike Balija	--	1	--	1	--
49	Pulluvan	--	--	--	--	1
50	Rajpuri	--	2	--	--	--
51	Beddi (Ganjam)	9	9	8	9	11
52	Sadhu Chetty	17	22	15	26	33
53	Saliyan	11	8	10	6	16
54	Senaithalaivan	9	11	7	8	23
55	Sourashtra	14	35	33	47	79
56	Sozhia Chetty	2	3	5	10	7
57	Sathatha Srivaishnava	3	4	--	7	5
58	Thiyyas	1	--	--	--	--
59	Thondaman	--	2	2	--	2
60	Thottia Naicken	2	1	--	--	2
61	Uppara	2	--	--	1	1
62	Urali Goundan	1	4	--	5	5
63	Thūluva Naicken and Vettaikara Naicken	3	3	5	4	6
64	Vadugan	52	60	34	51	75
65	Vakkaliga	5	14	4	7	10
66	Valaiyan	4	4	6	4	3
67	Vaniyar	16	28	22	26	35
68	Vannan	3	5	3	7	9
69	Vanniakula Kshatriya	74	90	74	96	115
70	Vettuva Gounder	3	3	2	--	10
*71	Virakodi Vellala	20	31	21	36	48
72	Yadava, Mond Golla	42	53	40	65	89
73	Araya	--	1	1	--	--
74	Chettys	1	2	--	1	8
75	C.S.I. & S.I.U.C.	23	37	20	23	42
76	Ezhavas	1	2	3	4	4
77	Krishnavaka	3	4	3	2	3
78	Latin Catholics	8	14	9	20	28
79	Pattariyars or Pattariar	1	--	--	--	1
80	Veerasaivas	1	1	--	1	--
81	Villakathala Nairs	1	--	1	1	1
82	Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes	14	12	8	12	8
83	Other Backward Classes	12	16	13	17	22
*71A	Yogeeswara	--	1	2	1	2
Total		929	1,202	833	1,201	1,796

RANKING OF CASTES IN THE ORDER OF PROGRESS STRENGTH IN  
ALL MEDICAL COLLEGES 1969-70  
(EXCEPT CHRISTIAN MEDICAL COLLEGE, VELLORE.)

Rank	Caste	Number of students studying	Estimated population for 1971	Caste Index
1	Thuluva Vellala	271	2,00,000	1:738.0
2	Vadugan	149	1,10,102	1:738.9
3	Sadhu Chetty	78	1,08,262	1:1388.0
4	Agamudayan including Thuluva Vellala	469	6,70,505	1:1429.6
5	Gavara	129	1,87,829	1:1456.0
6	Devanga, Sedan	174	2,96,731	1:1705.4
7	Virakodi Vellala	44	91,447	1:2078.3
8	Reddi (Ganjam)	29	60,754	1:2095.0
9	Sourashtra	76	1,62,812	1:2142.3
10	Agamudayan	198	4,70,505	1:2376.3
11	Labbai	262	6,37,827	1:2434.4
12	Kaikolan (Sengunthar)	256	7,00,207	1:2735.2
13	Saliyan	36	1,20,837	1:3356.6
14	Vakkaliga	32	1,44,478	1:4514.9
15	Badaga	24	1,25,892	1:5245.5
16	Illuvan, Ezhuvan, Illathar	12	69,577	1:5798.1
17	Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	262	15,59,339	1:5951.7
18	Senaithalaivan	25	1,50,000	1:6000.0
19	Isai Vellalar or Melakkarar	21	1,50,000	1:7142.9
20	Kallar	92	9,75,712	1:10605.6
21	Maruthuvar	39	4,18,517	1:10731.2
22	Maravar	55	8,81,299	1:15114.5
23	Yadava, Mond Golla	85	13,85,603	1:16301.2
24	Parkavakulam	27	4,81,322	1:17826.7
25	Andipandaram (Jangam)	10	1,79,749	1:17974.9
26	Kulala	16	2,91,357	1:18209.8
27	Kammalan	59	11,85,313	1:20090.1
28	Vanniakula Kshatriya	187	48,61,742	1:25998.6
29	Kuruba, Kurumba	10	2,84,307	1:28430.7
30	Vaniyar	11	3,72,805	1:33891.4
31	Parvatharajakulam	6	3,50,000	1:58333.3
32	Ambalakaran	5	2,98,024	1:59604.8
33	Boya and Odde	5	5,07,248	1:101449.6
34	Valaiyan	2	6,33,478	1:316739.0
35	Vannan	1	4,61,339	1:461239.0
36	Mukkuvan	--	71,455	--
37	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	--	3,46,682	--
38	Paravans	--	89,457	--
39	Yogeeswaran	--	75,000	--



RANKING OF CASTES IN THE ORDER OF PROGRESS  
ADMISSION INTO ENGINEERING COLLEGES 1970.

Rank	Caste	Number of students admitted	Estimated population for 1971	Caste Index
1	Sourashtra	35	1,62,812	1:4651.8
2	Vadugan	17	1,10,102	1:6476.6
3	Sadhu Chetty	13	1,08,262	1:8327.8
4	Gavara	18	1,87,829	1:10434.9
5	Devanga, Sedan	28	2,96,731	1:10597.5
6	Saliyan	11	1,20,837	1:10985.2
7	Agamudayan including Thuluva Vellala	47	6,70,505	1:14266.1
8	Reddi (Ganjam)	4	60,754	1:15188.5
9	Kaikolan (Sengunthar)	32	7,00,207	1:21881.4
10	Virakodi Vellala	4	91,447	1:22861.8
11	Labbai	25	6,37,827	1:25513.1
12	Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	51	15,59,339	1:30575.8
13	Vaniyar	9	3,72,805	1:41422.8
14	Parkavakulam	10	4,81,322	1:48132.2
15	Vakkaliga	3	1,44,478	1:48159.3
16	Kammalan	22	11,85,313	1:59053.0
17	Badaga	2	1,25,892	1:62946.0
18	Illuvan, Ezhuvar, Illathar	1	69,577	1:69577.0
19	Senaithalaivan	2	1,50,000	1:75000.0
20	Isai Vellalar or Melakkarar	2	1,50,000	1:75000.0
21	Paravans	1	89,457	1:89457.0
22	Yadava, Mond Golla	15	13,65,603	1:92373.5
23	Kulala	3	2,91,537	1:97179.0
24	Maruthuvar	4	4,13,517	1:104629.3
25	Maravar	6	8,31,299	1:138549.8
26	Kuruba, Kurumba	2	2,84,307	1:142153.5
27	Boya and Odde	3	5,07,248	1:169082.7
28	Andipandaram (Jangam)	1	1,79,749	1:179749.0
29	Kallar	4	9,75,712	1:243928.0
30	Vanniakula Kshatriya	19	48,61,742	1:255881.2
31	Ambalakaran	1	2,98,024	1:298024.0
32	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	1	3,46,682	1:346682.0
33	Parvatharajakulam	1	3,50,000	1:350000.0
34	Mukkuvan	--	71,455	--
35	Valaiyar	--	6,33,478	--
36	Vannan	--	4,61,239	--
37	Yoggeeswaran	--	75,000	--